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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS,

FROM

AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

BY JOHN BAPTIST LEWIS CREVIER,

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC, IN THE COLLEGE OF BEAUVAIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY JOHN MILL, ESQ.

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IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS.

FROM AUGUSTUS TO CONSTANTINE.

VESPASIAN.

BOOK XV.

SECT. I.

VESPASIAN, a prince worthy of our esteem. Cruelties of the conquerors, who plunder Rome. The last sparks of the civil war extinguished. The titles of sovereign power decreed Vespasian by the senate and people. Mucian's letter to the senate blamed. Helvidius makes himself remarkable by the singularity of his speeches to the senate. His character. He has a very warm dispute with Eprius Marcellus, Thrasea's accuser. Musonius attacks P. Celer. Mucian arrives in Rome, and becomes sole arbiter of all. Murder of Calpurnius Galerianus. The senate assembled the first of January. Domitian pretor of the city. Mucian weakens Primus, and restores quiet to the city. Domitian's speech to the senate. The honours of Galba restored. Commissioners of the senate for four important objects. Condemnation of P. Celer. The senate's efforts to punish informers.

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A. R. 820. SER. GALBA.
A. C. 69. T. VINIUS.

Vespasian a prince worthy of our esteem.

AFTER a long series of bad or weak princes, we at last meet with an emperor worthy of our esteem; who thinks the happiness of his people a duty incumbent on him; an emperor skilful in war, but fond of peace; studious of the welfare of government; laborious, sober, a lover of simplicity, a respecter of the laws, and careful to see them duly executed; perhaps too fond of money, but at the same time a prudent economist; inclined to clemency, and a perfect stranger to those suspicions and distrusts which are the forerunners of cruelty and oppression. We shall see these several virtues shine under Vespasian's government, though not till he shall himself have taken in hand the reins of empire. He was at a great distance from Rome when his army took possession of that capital; and Mucian, who exercised a despotic power in his absence, was not guided by so humane and equitable maxims as his prince. Nor, indeed, could a power established by civil war fail of partaking at first of the violent measures to which it owed its origin.

Vitellius's

Vitellius's * death rather ended the war than brought on peace. The conquerors, in arms, ran through the city, pursuing the conquered with implacable hatred, and murdering them inhumanly wherever they found them. The streets were filled with slaughter, and the temples and public places swam with blood. This unbounded licentiousness soon increased: houses were searched from top to bottom to find those who had taken shelter in them, and certain death awaited whoever chanced to be tall and young; all such being deemed soldiers belonging to the Germanic legions. A greedy desire of plunder was soon added to cruelty. The most secret recesses were broken into, under pretence of looking for Vitellius's partizans. Doors were forced open, and if the least resistance was made, the furious soldier quelled it with his sword. The populace shared the plunder, slaves betrayed their masters, and friends their friends. Nothing was heard but the din of war, lamentations, and complaints, and Rome was in the dreadful condition of a town taken by storm; insomuch that the late detested violence of Otho's and Vitellius's soldiers seemed a desirable state compared to the present. The commanders † of the victorious army did not, indeed, authorize these horrid disorders; but though they had had all the fire and spirit requisite to kindle a civil war, they had not power to stop the licentiousness of victory. The most wicked are always foremost in discord and confusion; but peace and tranquillity cannot be established but by the wisdom and virtue of those that command. Domitian had left his asylum when the danger was over, and had been proclaimed Cæsar. But a young prince

A. R. 820. A. C. 69.

Cruelties of the conquerors, who plunder Rome. Tac. Hist. iv. 1.

* Interfecto Vitellio, bellum magis desierat, quam pax cœperat. *Tac.*

† Duces partium accedendo civili bello acres, temperandæ victoriæ impares. Quippe in turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis: pax et quies bonis artibus indigent. *Tac.*

A R. 820. A. C. 69. of eighteen could hardly be able to command respect, nor even to apply to the business of the state. Debauch * and pleasure were his sole occupation: he thought that a privilege annexed to the quality of emperor's son. The soldier was therefore not checked by authority, but ceased his outrages, either because he was satiated or ashamed, or because his first heat subsiding made room for milder sentiments.

The last sparks of the civil war extinguished.

I have anticipated the mention of the manner in which the last sparks of the civil war were extinguished, by the submission of L. Vitellius and the cohorts under his command, the death of the leader, and the imprisonment of the soldiers. The cities of Campania were divided, as I before said, between Vitellius and Vespasian: Lucilius Bassus was sent with a detachment of horse to quiet that country, which was accordingly effected the moment those troops appeared. Capua suffered for her attachment to Vitellius. The third legion was quartered there for the winter; and the most illustrious families were treated with ignominy.

Whilst Capua was treated with this rigour, Terracina, after suffering, for Vespasian's sake, a siege, and all the horrors to which a town taken by storm is exposed, received no reward. So † natural is it, says Tacitus, to requite injuries rather than benefits: the reason is, that most men think acknowledgment an ungrateful task, but revenge sweet and pleasing. It was, however, some comfort to the wretched inhabitants of Terracina to see the slave who betrayed them hung, with the golden ring Vitellius had given him on his finger.

The titles of sovereign power decreed Vespasian by the senate and people.

At Rome, the senate decreed Vespasian all the titles and honours of sovereign power; and that decree

* Stupris et adulteriis filium principis agebat. *Tac.*

† Tanto proclivius est injuriæ, quam beneficio vicem exsolvere: quia gratia oneri est, ultio in quæstu habetur. *Tac.*

decree was confirmed by the suffrages of the people assembled. I have spoken* elsewhere of the fragment we have remaining of the law enacted on this occasion. From that time the city wore a new face. Joy succeeded terror, and every Roman conceived the most pleasing hopes, founded, says Tacitus, on this circumstance, that the civil wars begun in Spain and Gaul, having afterwards passed through Germany and Illyria, and from thence to Syria, and the whole East, had by that means gone round the world, and seemed to have expiated the wickedness of mankind. A more solid reason for these hopes was the well-known character of Vespasian. The public confidence was increased by a letter from that prince, written on a supposition that the war was not yet over, and wherein he nevertheless expressed himself in the style of an emperor, but without haughtiness or ostentation, speaking of himself with a modest dignity, and promising a mild and prudent government, agreeably to the laws. He was named consul with his eldest son Titus for the year following; and the pretorship, together with the power of consul, was given to Domitian. A. R. 820. A. C. 69.

Mucian, too, wrote to the senate; but his letter was not approved of. It was judged too presumptuous in a private man, who ought to know that none but the prince was entitled to write to the senate. Several expressions in his letter were likewise found fault with. It was thought very unbecoming him to insult Vitellius after his defeat; but what displeased most of all was his declaring, that the empire being at his disposal, he had given it to Mucian's letter to the senate blamed.

* See Vol. I. p. 21, note. I there supposed, and even attempted to prove, that the *Lex Regalis*, or *Royal Law*, mentioned in the body of the Roman laws, was an act of the senate. So I then thought; but have since been induced to alter my opinion, and believe it was, strictly speaking, a law passed by the assembly of the people.

A. R. 820 A. C. 69. Vespasian*. These remarks were, however, made in private only: in public he was flattered and highly applauded. The ornaments of triumph were decreed him, under pretence of the trifling expedition in which he checked the incursions of the Dacians and † Sarmatians in Mœsia, as before related. Antonius Primus received the ornaments of consul, and Arrius Varus those of pretor.

After performing what was thought due to the imperial family, and chief men of the victorious party; religion came next under consideration, and the capitol was ordered to be rebuilt.

All these resolutions, relating to so many different objects, were taken agreeably to the opinion of the first speaker, which was unanimously approved of, without any other difference than that the generality gave their consent in one word, whilst such as held a distinguished rank, or were versed in the arts of flattery, launched out into studied speeches. Helvidius Priscus, at that time pretor elect, made himself remarkable in a contrary sense, by mixing a republican liberty with the homage he paid the prince: and ‡ accordingly that day was to him the first epoch of great glory and great enmities. He was a man of a singular turn of mind, whom Tacitus has taken pleasure to represent in the most advantageous light: but some shades must be thrown into that historian's picture of him, to give it a just resemblance.

Helvidius makes himself remarkable by the singularity of his speeches to the senate.

His character. Tac. Hist. iv. 5. and Lips. ibid. and ad Agr. n. 45. Helvidius was born at Terracina: his father had acquired some reputation in the army, and the rank of first captain of a legion. His name was Cluvius; consequently it must have been by adoption that his son had the name of Helvidius. I see nothing more

* Cæterùm invidia in occulto, adulatio in aperto erant.

† Tacitus speaks of none but the Sarmatians here; and l. iii. n. 46. he mentions only the Dacians. I supply the defect of one passage by the help of another; and even Tacitus mentions them jointly, l. iv. n. 54.

‡ Isque præcipuè ille dies magnæ offensæ initium, et magnæ gloriæ fuit.

more probable in that matter than Lipsius's conjecture, who supposes Helvidius Priscus, commander of a legion under Numidius Quadratus, proconsul of Syria, to have been uncle to this by the mother's side, and to have adopted him. Young Helvidius*, born with a towering genius, perfected himself in the study of what the Romans called the *Great Sciences*; meaning the purest and most sublime morality. What he proposed by that study was not, like many, to conceal an inactive life under the specious appearance of extraordinary wisdom, but to fortify his soul against the dangers attending the administration of public affairs. The Stoic school pleased him for that reason, and he delighted in the lessons which taught him to hold that only to be good which is laudable, that only to be bad which is shameful; and to reckon power, fortune, dignities, and all else that does not immediately depend upon ourselves, among the indifferent things of life. His first marriage was with a person whose name and family we are not acquainted with. He had a son by her, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. When at liberty to marry again, either by his wife's death, or by divorce, Thrasea chose him for his son-in-law, though he had then held no other office than that of questor. Helvidius imbibed from this virtuous father-in-law, whose A. R. 820. A. C. 69.

4

* Helvidius Priscus . . . . . ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit: non, ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita, rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiæ sequutus est qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia: potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis rebus annumerant. Quæstorius adhuc, à Pæto Thrasea gener dilectus, è moribus soceri nihil æque ac libertatem hausit civis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æqualibus, opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversum metus. Erant quibus appetentior famæ videretur: quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur. *Tac.*

A. R. 820. A. C. 69. whose friendship he cultivated with the utmost esteem and veneration, a spirit of generous liberty. Uniform in every part of his life, he acquitted himself equally well of the duties of a citizen, senator, husband, son-in-law, and friend. He held riches in contempt, was immovably firm in the practice of virtue, and above the reach of hope or fear. He was taxed with being too fond of public applause; and Tacitus, who owns he had that foible, excuses him by observing, that the love of glory is the last weakness which even the wisest of men are able to surmount. Let us add, that he knew not how to combine moderation with generosity; that he was not sufficiently sensible of the difference of the times in which he lived from those of the old republic; and that, by his repeated inconsiderate liberties, he incurred the displeasure of a prince who loved and esteemed virtue.

Thus, for example, in the deliberation we are speaking of, his proposal was, that the republic should rebuild the capitol, and desire Vespasian's assistance therein. This was making the emperor subordinate to the republic, and treating him almost as if he had been only a private man. The wisest of the senators took no notice of this motion, and even forgot it; but it was not so with others. He voted with the same spirit in another affair. The keepers of the public treasury complaining that it was exhausted, and desiring means might be thought of to retrench expenses, the consul elect, who spoke first, said, he thought so nice and important a point ought to be left to the emperor. Helvidius would have the senate settle it. The dispute was ended by the opposition of a tribune of the people, Vulcatius Tertullinus, who declared he would not suffer any resolution to be taken in a thing of that consequence whilst the prince was absent.

Helvidius had just had a very warm dispute with Eprius

Eprius Marcellus in the same meeting of the senate. They had long hated each other. Eprius was the man who had accused Thrasea, whose sentence of death was attended, as I before said, with the banishment of Helvidius. Their animosity was increased by Helvidius's return to Rome after Nero's death. He then thought of accusing Eprius in his turn; and his intended vengeance, as just as it was great, occasioned a division in the senate; for it was thought the fall of Eprius might possibly be the forerunner of that of numbers of other delinquents, who, like him, had carried on the odious traffic of informers. Their quarrel made a great noise; and, as the two adversaries had haughty spirits and great parts, each of them harangued the senate, and their speeches were published. However, Galba not explaining himself on that head, Helvidius was prevailed on, at the request of several of the senators, to drop his design; for which some praised his moderation, whilst others blamed his want of resolution.

A. R. 820. A C. 69. He has a very warm dispute with Eprius Marcellus, Thrasea's accuser.

We may readily conceive, that though Helvidius ceased to prosecute his enemy, he was not therefore reconciled to him. Their mutual hatred was always ready to break out, and declared itself openly on the occasion of the deputation the senate proposed sending to Vespasian. Helvidius was for having the deputies chosen by the magistrates, after making them swear to choose none but such as should be worthy to represent that august assembly. Eprius, seconding the opinion of the consul elect, insisted on their being ballotted, and his own personal interest made him very warm in support of that motion; because, concluding that he should not be named if they were voted for, he was desirous to avoid the slur of being rejected. The dispute grew warm, and, after some altercations, they harangued the senate in form against each other. 'Why,' said Helvidius to his adversary, 'do you fear the decision of the senate?

'You

A. R. 820. A. C. 69. 'You are rich and eloquent. These would be great 'advantages, if the remembrance of your past crimes 'did not strike you with fear and trembling. Chance 'is blind, and does not distinguish merit: but the 'suffrages and examination of the senate sift and 'scruntinize the conduct and character of all*. The 'welfare of the republic, and Vespasian's honour, 'are concerned in presenting to him at first none 'but the most virtuous members of the senate, 'whose speeches, guided by wisdom, will give the 'emperor a favourable opinion of them. Vespasian 'was Thrasea's and Soranus's friend; and if it be 'not proper to punish the accusers of those whom 'he regrets as we do, at least we ought not to affect 'to show them on great and signal occasions. The 'senate's choice, such as I purpose it to be, will 'point out to the emperor who are worthy of his 'esteem, and whom he ought to disturb. To † 'a prince who means to govern well, nothing is 'more serviceable than good friends. Eprius ought 'to be satisfied with having made Nero spill so 'much innocent blood. Let him enjoy impunity, 'and the rewards of his crimes: but let him leave 'Vespasian to more honest men.'

Eprius answered: 'That he was not the author 'of what was blamed with so much warmth: 'That he had done nothing more than follow 'the sentiments of the consul elect, who himself 'conformed to an ancient custom established in 'order to prevent cabals, by which flattery towards 'some, and hatred against others, was favoured: 'That he saw no reason to deviate from received 'customs, nor to convert the honour paid the 'emperor into an affront to particular persons: That

* Pertinere ad utilitatem reipublicæ, pertinere ad Vespasiani honorem, occurrere illi quos innocentissimos senatus habeat, qui honestis sermonibus aures imperatoris imbuant. *Tac.*

† Nullum majus boni imperii instrumentum, quam bonos amicos. *Tac.*

'That distinctions were needless in matters where A. R. 820. A. C. 69.
'the common duty of all was concerned, and of
'which all were equally capable: That the most
'necessary care of all was, rather to avoid indispo-
'sing, by an ill-timed haughtiness and arrogance,
'the mind of a prince who, on his first accession
'to the throne, could not but take notice of every
'thing, and be susceptible of some uneasiness.
'For* my part, added Eprius, I am thoroughly
'sensible of the situation of the times I live in, and
'of the form of government established by our
'forefathers. I admire antiquity, but conform
'to the present state of things. I wish for good
'princes; but, whatever they are, I bear with them.
'Thrasea's death ought not to be imputed to the
'speech I then made, more than to the judgment
'of the whole senate. Our ministry was but a
'cloke under which Nero deceived the public;
'and the favour and countenance of such a prince
'were not less dangerous to me than exile may
'have been sorrowful to others. In short, I leave
'to Helvidius the glory of rivalling a Cato and a
'Brutus by his courage and constancy, and own
'myself a part of that senate which suffered ser-
'vitude. But, † at the same time, I advise him
'not to exalt himself above the emperor, nor pre-
'tend to give lessons to an experienced prince,
'loaded with honours, and father of two sons in
'the prime of youth. Though bad emperors may
'aim at unlimited power, the very best cannot
'but desire that liberty should keep within proper
'bounds.'

Though

* Se meminisse temporum quibus natus sit, quam civitatis formam patres avique instituerint: ulteriora mirati, præsentia sequi: bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare. *Tac.*

† Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra principem scanderet, neu Vespasianum senem triumphalem, juvenum liberorum patrem, præceptis coërceret. Quomodo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis placere. *Tac.*

A. R. 820. A. C. 69. Though Eprius was a bad man, yet the advice he gave his adversary was good, and the rigid Stoic would have done well had he followed it. It was resolved to decide the choice of the deputies by lot. The senators in general were for keeping up the old custom; and the most illustrious among them feared the effects of envy, in case they should be preferred by election.

Musonius attacks P. Celer. Another quarrel began to arise in the senate, in which Helvidius and Eprius could not but take part. Musonius Rufus, sufficiently known by what has been already said of him, desired leave to prosecute P. Celer, the perfidious friend of Barea Soranus, and guilty of having borne false witness against him, whose master in philosophy he had been. The senate was sensible of the opening this would give for prosecutions against all informers; but, at the same time, could not possibly protect an accused person of that mean degree, whose crime was equally manifest and odious. The first leisure day was therefore set apart for that affair, and was expected to be the forerunner of great events. Musonius and Celer were less thought of than Helvidius and Eprius, and many other famous champions, from whom the most interesting scenes were expected.

Mucian arrives in Rome, and becomes sole arbiter of all. While* the whole city was in a ferment, discord reigning among the senators, resentment in the hearts of the conquered, and no help to be had, either from the conquerors, who were not able to inspire respect, or from the laws, no longer known or minded, or from the prince, who was absent; Mucian arrived, and instantly drew all to himself. Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus had shone till then. The latter had possessed himself of the post of

* Tali rerum statu, quum discordia inter patres, ira apud victos, nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in civitate, Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se traxit. *Tac.*

of pretorian prefect. Primus, without any new title, enjoyed an unlimited power, and exerted it to plunder the imperial palace, as he before plundered Cremona. Mucian's arrival totally eclipsed both Varus and Primus. Though he kept up an outward show of civility towards them, he could not conceal his jealousy and hatred. His* real sentiments were soon known, and the whole city sided with him. Mucian was the only man applied to, the only one to whom court was made; whilst he himself took care to do every thing that was proper to strike the public with awe, appearing with great magnificence and ostentation, escorted by armed men, having guards at his gate, and numbers of houses and gardens to which he went. He acted and lived like an emperor, and seemed to want nothing but the name. He determined the most important affairs without waiting for Vespasian's orders, who in fact treated him almost as his equal, so far as to call him brother, and intrust him with his seal, that he might command whatever he thought proper in his name. Mucian abused that power, and committed violence, doubtless contrary to the inclination and maxims of the prince he represented. A. R. 820. A. C. 69. Dio.

Such was his order to murder Calpurnius Galerianus, son of C. Piso, whom some were for raising to the throne in the room of Nero. His only crime was a great name, the blooming advantages of youth, and the idle talk of the multitude, whose eyes were fixed upon him. As the authority of the new government was not yet thoroughly settled, and there was still a leaven of trouble and agitation in Rome, some were rash enough, in their inconsiderate speeches, to seem to invite Galerianus to aspire at the sovereignty. Murder of Calpurnius Galerianus. Tac.

The

* Civitas rimandis offensis sagax verterat se transtuleratque. Ille unus ambiri, coli: nec deerat ipse stipatus armatis, domos, hortosque permutans, apparatu, incessu, excubiis, vim principis complecti, nomen remittere. Tac.

A. R. 820. A. C. 69. This was sufficient to make Mucian resolve to get rid of him. He set guards over him, who carried him out of the city, within which his death would have made too much noise, and ordered them to open his veins when at forty miles distance. I have already spoken of the death of Vitellius's son, an infant, which happened soon after that of Galerianus.

Thus ended at Rome this year of dreadful calamities. The consulship of Vespasian with his son Titus promised the world a series of happier days, of which that city tasted the first-fruits by the restoration of peace and tranquillity.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS II. TITUS CÆSAR.

The senate assembled the first of January. Domitian pretor of the city. Tac. IV. Hist. 39.

On the first of January, the senate being convened by Julius Frontinus, prefect of the city, who, in the absence of the consuls, was at the head of the magistracy, decreed praises and thanks to the generals, armies, and allied kings, who had contributed towards Vespasian's victory. The pretorship was taken from Tertius Julianus, whose ambiguous behaviour and adventure I have before spoken of. He was charged with having forsaken his legion when it went over to Vespasian. The vacant pretorship was given to Plautius Griphus, a creature of Mucian's. A few days after, it was known that Julianus had repaired to the emperor; whereupon he was reinstated in his office, but without divesting Griphus, who by that means became a supernumerary pretor.

At the same meeting on the first of January, Hormus, Vespasian's freedman, was created a Roman knight, and Frontinus resigned the pretorship of the city to make room for Domitian. The young prince's name was accordingly put at the head of all letters written by the senate, and all ordinances published

in

in Rome. But the real power resided in Mucian, except when Domitian, prompted by his restless and ambitious temper, and by the speeches of his courtiers, did sometimes venture to do an act of authority. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Mucian, without fearing, kept measures with him; but he greatly dreaded Primus and Varus, who were supported by the glory of their late exploits, and the affection of the troops as well as people, charmed with the moderation they had shown in not drawing their swords against any one since the victory. Mucian would gladly have taken advantage of a report tending to impeach the fidelity of Primus. He was said to have made overtures to Crassus Scribonianus, brother to Piso, whom Galba had adopted, and to have offered his own and his friends' assistance to set him upon the throne at a proper time; but that Crassus, not in the least disposed to be prevailed on even by well-grounded hopes, had refused to be concerned in a scheme the success of which was very uncertain. The public was therefore not informed of this negotiation, whether true or false; and all the use Mucian could make of it was, to lay a snare for Primus's vanity. Mucian weakens Primus, and restores quiet to the city.

He loaded him with praises in the senate, and made him vast promises in private, hinting at giving him the government of the Nether Spain, which Cluvius, sent for, as I before said, by Vitellius, ruled for several months past by his lieutenants, and to which he was not to return. At the same time he made several of Primus's friends tribunes and prefects. Perceiving how easily Primus was buoyed up by his deceitful promises, his next step was to weaken him, by removing the seventh legion, entirely devoted to him, which was sent into winter-quarters. The third, whose attachment to Varus was not less strong, was likewise ordered to Syria. Civilis's war was a fair pretence for sending the sixth

A. R. 821. A. C. 68. sixth and eighth legions into Germany. The city, thus delivered from that multitude of soldiers who were incessantly creating some disturbance or other, recovered her wonted form and tranquillity; and the laws and magistrates resumed their authority.

Domitian's speech to the senate. The honours of Galba restored. Domitian took his seat in the senate, and on that occasion made a short speech concerning his father's and brother's absence, speaking modestly of himself and of his youth. The comeliness of his person added to the graces of his diction, and as he was not then known, his blushes were taken for an assured sign of meekness.

He moved that the honours of Galba might be restored; and Curtius Montanus, whose exile under Nero I have mentioned, proposed joining Piso to his adoptive father. The senate ordered by a decree that both their memories should be honoured; but the article concerning Piso was not put in execution.

Commissioners of the senate for four important objects. A commission was afterwards made out, composed of senators drawn by lot, who were charged with several important cares, such as, to see restitution made to the right owners of whatever had been unjustly taken from them by the violence of the civil wars; to restore the monuments of the ancient laws, formerly engraven on plates of brass, which had been destroyed in the burning of the capitol; to purge the calendar of a great number of festivals abusively introduced by the adulation of former times; and, lastly, to consider of proper means to lessen the expenses of the state. The institution of this commission bespeaks wisdom, and the best of intentions for the public good. But as we have lost the greater part of Tacitus's writings relating to Vespasian's reign, we cannot say what success the labour of these commissioners was attended with, except with regard to one only of the four objects committed to their care. Suetonius informs us, that Vespasian restored three thousand ancient monuments of laws, resolutions of the senate, treaties with kings,

Suet. Vesp. 8.

kings and nations, and other acts of equal importance. He had them engraved on plates of brass, which were fixed to the walls of the capitol after it was rebuilt. As to the lessening of the public expenses, most probably Mucian reminded the commissioner that that article had been debated before, and left to the emperor; and, indeed, it seems in general by Suetonius's expression, that the prince's authority intervened in the execution of whatever orders the senate made, any way savouring of republican liberty. A. R. 821 A. C. 70.

The affair between Musonius Rufus and P. Celer was ended in the sitting of the senate of which I am now speaking. The wicked philosopher received a sentence suitable to his demerits, and behaved with an abject cowardice becoming his guilty soul, hardly daring to open his mouth. Musonius did not gain more honour by avenging the death of a man so respected as Soranus was, than Demetrius the Cynic lost by his ill-timed zeal in defence of Celer's bad cause. Vanity, and a mistaken concern for the honour of philosophy, were thought to prevail in him over the love of truth and justice. Condemnation of P. Celer.

Celer's condemnation gave the senate room to think the time was come for punishing informers in general as they deserved; and accordingly Junius Mauricus moved to have the registers of the imperial palace laid before the senate, in order to discover such as had been private informers. Domitian answered, that the emperor must first be consulted: whereupon the senators thought of another expedient to attain, if possible, their end. They proposed that every member should that instant take a solemn oath that he had done nothing to cause the ruin of any man, or ever purposed to gain preferment or reward at the expense of the life or fortune of a fellow-citizen. Such as were conscious of guilt were greatly embarrassed when it came to their turn to swear: they shuffled and The senate's efforts to punish informers.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. cated; and, to suit their consciences to their interests, changed some expressions in the form of the oath.

The senate was not deceived by these equivocal perjuries. Tacitus names three informers, who were attacked with more heat and animosity than well became so august an assembly. The senators held up their fists at the most notorious of the three, and ceased not to menace him till he thought proper to withdraw.

The next attack was on Pactius Africanus, to whom the death of the brothers Scribonius, of which I spoke towards the end of Nero's reign, was imputed. Pactius, unable to deny the crime, and not daring to own it, endeavoured to elude the question by impeaching others; and particularly, when pressed close by Vibius Crispus, he retorted the accusation on him, and by intermixing his own cause with that of so powerful a senator, escaped the punishment he justly deserved.

Regulus strongly attacked.

But none occasioned such warm debates as Aquilius Regulus, so famous in Pliny's letters, in which he is styled * the most infamous of men. Though young, he had already signalized himself by the ruin of the family of the Crassi, before spoken of, and by that of Orphitus, of which we know nothing further. He took to that bloody trade, not, as some others did, to screen himself from any impending danger, but out of downright wickedness, and for the sake of money. Sulpicia, the widow of Crassus, by whom she had four children living, determined to sue for vengeance, if she could obtain a hearing. In that nice situation of things, Vipstanus Messala, brother to Regulus, a youth not yet of age to have a seat in the senate, acquired great honour. Unable to deny the facts laid to his brother's charge, he begged, entreated, joined his own interest to that of

* Omnium bipedum nequissimus. *Plin. Ep.* I. 5.

of the accused, and moved a part of the senate by his eloquent and most pathetic address. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Curtius Montanus answered him with so bitter an invective, as soon effaced every favourable impression that Messala's mild and soft insinuations had made. He even charged Regulus with having, after Galba's death, given money to the murderer of Piso, whom he hated because he had been the cause of his banishment, and with having been guilty of so inhuman a deed, as to tear the head of that unfortunate young Cæsar to pieces with his teeth. 'At least,' added he, 'thou wast not bid by 'Nero to commit so low, so cowardly a cruelty; 'nor was it necessary in order to save either thy 'fortune or thy life. Let such as have chosen 'rather to make others perish than to endanger 'themselves, be pardoned, if they must. But, as 'to thee, the circumstances thou wast in secured 'thy safety; thy father banished, his estate divided 'among his creditors, thyself too young to aspire 'at any post; nothing above thee could excite 'Nero's envy or dislike; nothing could make him 'fear thee. Thou * couldst have no other motive 'than thirst of blood, and greediness of reward; 'nothing else could induce thee to begin to signa-'lize, by the murder of so illustrious a man as 'Crassus, thy pernicious talents, never known to 'have been exerted in the defence of any one 'citizen. Encouraged by the spoils thou gainedst

* Libidine sanguinis, et hiatu præmiorum, ignotum adhuc ingenium, et nullis defensionibus expertum, cæde nobili imbruisti: quum ex funere reipublicæ raptis consularibus spoliis, septuagies sestertio saginatus, et sacerdotio fulgens, innoxios pueros, illustres senes, conspicuas fœminas eâdem ruinâ prosterneres quum segnitiem Neronis incusares, quod per singulas domos sequ et delatores fatigaret: posse universum senatum una voce subverti. Retinete, P. C. et reservate hominem tam expediti consilii, ut omnis ætas instructa sit, et quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, juvenes Regulum imitentur. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'by a public misfortune, decked out in consular 'ornaments, tempted by a stipend of seven millions 'of sesterces, and priding thyself on thy most un-'justly acquired priesthood, thy rage no longer 'knew any bounds: thou confoundedst in one 'common ruin innocent children, venerable old 'men and ladies of the first distinction. Thou 'didst accuse Nero of being slow and timid, and 'reproach him with giving himself and informers 'an unnecessary trouble in attacking one family af-'ter another, instead of extirpating the whole se-'nate by a single order. Preserve, conscript fa-'thers, cherish and make much of so expeditious 'and good a counsellor, that every age may have 'its model of iniquity, and as our old men imita-'ted Eprius and Vibius Crispus, so our young ones 'may take example from Regulus. Vice, even 'though unsuccessful, has its imitators: what 'then will it not have, if honoured and protected? 'And he who makes us tremble now that he has 'been only questor, how shall we dare to look 'him in the face after he shall have been pretor 'and consul? Can we think Nero was the worst 'of tyrants? Those who survived Tiberius and 'Caligula thought them so; and yet a worse 'and more cruel one has since arisen. We have 'no reason to fear Vespasian: his age and well-'known moderation are certain pledges of our 'happiness. But the examples of good princes 'are too often disregarded. We languish * and 'are weakened, conscript fathers: we are no 'longer that senate, which, when Nero was killed, 'insisted on the death of his ministers and infor-'mers. The day that next follows the death of a 'bad prince, is the best of days.' This speech was

* Elanguimus, P. C. nec jam ille senatus sumus, qui, occiso Nerone, delatores et ministros more majorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est post malum principem dies primus. *Tac.*

was a true prediction of the evils Regulus was afterwards the cause of under Domitian; and Tacitus, who was witness to them, could not but prophesy justly. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Montanus's speech was received with such applause, that Helvidius conceived great hopes of ruining Eprius. Accordingly, he harangued the senate; first extolling Cluvius Rufus, who, not less eminent than Eprius for his riches and eloquence, had not so much as attempted to hurt any one during Nero's reign, and then turned that fine example against the accuser of Thrasea. All the senators took fire to that degree, that Eprius made a show of withdrawing. 'We are going, said he 'to Helvidius, and leave you with your senate: 'reign here in the presence of the emperor's son.' Vibius Crispus was following him; both highly incensed, though they showed their resentment differently. Eprius's looks threatened vengeance, whilst Crispus affected a forced smile. Their friends interposed, and prevented their going. The dispute was renewed: one side was supported by numbers and by justice, the other by power and riches. The whole day was spent in very warm debates, but nothing was concluded. Helvidius attacks Eprius again.

Domitian opened the next meeting with a speech, wherein he exhorted the senators, in few words, to lay aside their old animosities, and impute what had been done amiss to the necessity of the times. Mucian spoke longer, and pleaded openly and strongly in favour of the informers. He pointed plainly at Helvidius without naming him, giving, with a mild tone of voice, and as it were by way of entreaty, some pieces of advice to those who, after having commenced and then dropped a prosecution, were endeavouring to revive it again. The senators, perceiving that the liberty they had begun to exert would not do, gave up the point. Mucian protects and screens the informers.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. He endeavours to appease the angry senate.

Mucian, in order to give the senate some show of satisfaction, ordered back into exile two wretches condemned under Nero, who had returned home upon his death: these were, Octavius Sagitta, banished for the murder of a woman with whom he kept company, and the accuser of Anticus and Ostorius Scapula, called Antistius Sosianus, author of several defamatory libels. The senate was not deceived. Sosianus and Sagitta were men whom nobody cared for, and their return to Rome would not have been noticed; but those whom Mucian protected were dreaded on account of their power, riches, and malevolent disposition.

Dio. ap. Val.

Vespasian, more mild and just, did not indeed think proper to punish the informers; but, some time after, he sent an order from Alexandria to Rome, whereby he abolished the law against high treason, annulled all proceedings made under Nero on that odious account, and consequently reinstated the memories of all who had been put to death, and released their survivors from the penalties awarded against them

Tac. Hist. IV. 45.

Mucian mitigated the public indignation a little by letting the senate exert its authority, according to ancient custom, to revenge an insult which one of its members complained of having received from the Siennese. The offenders were ordered to appear, and were punished; and the senate passed a decree, reprimanding the people of Sienna, and enjoining them to behave more modestly in future.

The allies of the empire were likewise pleased with the sentence pronounced against Antonius Flamma, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene; who, being accused of extortion, was condemned to make good whatever wrongs he had done the people under his government, and was moreover banished for his cruelty.

Seditious insurrection among the troops.

At the same time the troops began to mutiny, and were very near coming to an open sedition. The pretorians

pretorians whom Vitellius had broke, and who had taken up arms again for Vespasian, insisted on being reinstated in their old corps. Great numbers of legionary soldiers had likewise been promised to be provided for in the pretorian cohorts, which was the most honourable as well as the most lucrative service. On the other hand, Vitellius's pretorians were bent on not giving up their rank; so that much blood must have been shed in attempting to force them. In the mean time the multitude of competitors greatly exceeded the fixed number of the pretorian cohorts. A. F. 821. A. C. 70.

Mucian, determined to make a choice, repaired to the camp, where he first drew up in order the victorious troops, according to their respective companies, with their arms and ensigns. Vitellius's pretorians were brought up next, almost naked, many of them but just taken out of the prisons into which they had been thrown on their surrendering with that emperor's brother, and the rest collected from divers parts of the city and neighbouring towns. The reader may remember how Vitellius, when he broke the old pretorians for their attachment to Otho, replaced them with men draughted out of the legions that fought for him; that is, in general out of the German and British legions, and others who had espoused his cause. In consequence of this resolution, Mucian ordered them to be separated according to the several corps to which they had formerly belonged. A frightful murmur immediately arose. They were struck with fear the instant they saw themselves opposed to well-armed troops, defenceless as they were, in a most deplorable condition, and surrounded on all sides. But the moment an attempt was made to separate them, in consequence of Mucian's command, and divide them into small bodies, their fears redoubled, and those of the German legions in particular concluded they were doomed to die. Full of that dreadful

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. idea, they threw their arms round their comrades' necks, and begged a parting kiss, as being the last time they were to see each other; beseeching them to let all who were concerned in the same cause share the same fate. Sometimes they addressed themselves to Mucian, then to the absent emperor imploring the assistance of heaven and all the gods. Mucian, alarmed at their mournful lamentations, with which the troops of the victorious party began to be moved, endeavoured to quiet them, by protesting that he looked upon them all as united by the same oath, and as soldiers of the same emperor. So ended that day.

Mucian yields to their desires, but artfully retracts what he had granted. Dio. Vit.

A few days after, Domitian assembled them again to make proposals to them; and it was probably then that he gave each of them the five and twenty denarii which Dion Cassius speaks of. They had had time to recover from their fright, and accordingly heard him undaunted. They refused the lands that were offered them, and desired to continue serving in the pretorian guards. They * only desired indeed, but in such a manner as not to be refused; and accordingly their request was granted. Numbers of them were afterwards dismissed, under pretence that their years and length of service required rest: others were broken for neglect of duty and other disdemeanours: so that the government gained its end at last by attacking † by degrees a multitude too formidable to be opposed when combined together.

Transactions of less importance.

A motion was made in the senate for the republic to borrow sixty millions of sesterces, (about 480000*l.*) but it did not pass, either because there was no real want of that money, and the thing was proposed only with a view to answer some private end, or because

* Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non posset. *Tac.*

† Dismissi . . . carptim, ac singuli; quo tutissimo remedio consensus multitudinis extenuatur. *Tac.*

because other means of raising it were thought more eligible. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Domitian abrogated, by a law to which the people's consent was desired, the consulships to which Vitellius had nominated; a remarkable instance of deference to the old forms.

Great honours were done the memory of Flavius Sabinus, whose cruel and ignominious death I have already spoken of, and his funeral-rites were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; a signal instance of the vicissitude of all sublunary things.

Death of Piso, proconsul of Africa, who gave umbrage to Mucian. Tac. Hist. IV. 38, 48, 49, 50.

About the same time L. Piso, proconsul of Africa, fell a victim to Mucian's jealousy. We cannot indeed positively say that he was quite innocent; but he was far from being of a turbulent disposition, and the situation he was in was rather unfortunate than criminal. Africa, of which he was governor, had long been, as we before observed, but ill affected to Vespasian. Besides that, the supplies of provisions which Rome used to receive from that province, were prevented from coming, towards the beginning of this year, by contrary winds; and the people, * whom no concern touches so nearly as their bellies, began to murmur, and imagine that the proconsul hindered the ships from sailing. These reports were envenomed by the secret enemies of the then government; and the victors themselves, insatiable in their desires, were delighted with the thoughts of a new war, in which they expected new opportunities of plundering, and consequently of enriching themselves. Under these circumstances, some of Vitellius's old friends, who had taken shelter in Africa, tried to work upon Piso. They represented to him the wavering fidelity of Gaul, the open revolt of Germany, and his own danger, infinitely great if he remained quiet, but much less if he took up arms. It is not said whether Piso lent an ear to their insinuations:

* Cui una ex republica annonæ cura.

A. P. 821. A. C. 70. sinuations; but Mucian resolved to prevent the consequences of them, and to that end despatched a centurion with orders to kill him.

The affair was not conducted with such secrecy but that a colonel of horse, a friend of Piso, had some intimation of it. He crossed the sea, landed before the centurion, and informed Piso of what was doing. He pressed him strongly to revolt, alleging the example of Calpurnius Galerianus, his cousin and son-in-law, just put to death. 'You 'have but one way to save yourself, said he to 'him, and that is to venture all. The only 'thing to be considered is, whether it be best 'instantly to take up arms here, or to go to Gaul, 'and offer yourself to head the armies on the Rhine, 'whose hearts are still Vitellius's.' Piso was immovable, and determined to wait the event.

In the mean time Mucian's centurion entered the port of Carthage, and, the moment he landed, cried out that he brought Piso news of his elevation to the empire, made vows for his prosperity, and invited all he met, whom so strange and unexpected a proclamation could not but astonish, to join him. The mob crowded together, and, * accustomed to flattery, never examining whether things be true or false, ran to Piso's palace, calling him with loud and tumultuous shouts of joy. The proconsul, who was forewarned, and likewise a man of prudence, did not stir out, nor give way to the desires of an inconsiderate multitude, but ordered the centurion in, and learning from him the purport of his errand, had him executed publicly, less with a view to save his own life, than to do justice on a murderer by profession, who had already killed Clodius Macer in Africa under the reign of Galba. He then issued an ordinance, wherein he severely reprimanded

* Gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscebant, indiligentia veri, et adulandi libidine. *Tac.*

reprimanded the Carthaginians for the licentious liberty they had taken, but still kept close within his palace, suspending even the usual functions of his office, to avoid giving room for the least disorder or confusion amongst the people. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

I before observed that, since Caligula's time, the legion which the Romans had in Africa, was no longer commanded by the proconsul, but by the emperor's lieutenant, who at that time was one Valerius Festus, an ambitious man, reduced to indigence by the extravagance of his youth, and greatly perplexed as to his situation, because he was related to Vitellius. Whether, for those reasons, he was inclined to revolt, and accordingly made overtures to Piso, or whether Piso sounded him, and he resisted, we cannot know, because no person whatsoever was admitted to their private conferences; and, after Piso's death, Festus was at liberty to lay what he pleased to the charge of the man he had killed. Vol. III. B. VII.

However that may be, he no sooner learned the ferment of the Carthaginians, and the centurion's death, than he sent a detachment of horse to kill the proconsul. They made what haste they could, and, before break of day, forcibly entered Piso's palace sword in hand. Few of them knew him, Festus having purposely chosen natives of the country and Moors, as fitter for that execution than Romans. Coming to his chamber, they met a slave, whom they commanded to show them Piso. The slave was so * generous as to say that he was Piso; on which the assassins killed him instantly. But he did not save his master's life by losing his own; for at the head of the murderers was a man whom it was not possible to deceive, Bebius Massa, one of the intendants of Africa, then learning the horrid trade he afterwards so cruelly exercised under Domitian, of being

* Egregio mendacio.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. being the instrument of death to the very best men.

When Festus, who staid at Adrumetum, learned that his orders had been executed, he ran to his legion, and arrested the prefect of the camp, Cetronius Pisanus, whom he accused of being one of Piso's accomplices, to satisfy his own private hatred against him. He likewise ordered rewards to some, and punishments to others of the centurions and soldiers, without the least regard to their deserts, but with a view only to make a noise, and have a pretence to say that, by his care and vigilance, he had stifled a war just ready to break out.

Peace restored in the territories of Tripoli. He afterwards appeased the disturbances that had arisen between the inhabitants of Oca* and Leptis, in which the weakest, that is to say, the people of Oca, had prevailed on the Garamanti to side with them. A detachment of regular troops soon dispersed these barbarians, who knew only how to plunder, and restored peace to the subjects of the empire.

Vespasian at Alexandria. Tac. IV. Hist. 51. While these things were passing in Africa and at Rome, Vespasian was at Alexandria, to which place he went, as I before said, with a design to starve Italy by preventing its supplies of foreign corn. Luckily, he was not forced to have recourse to such odious means. On his arrival in Egypt, he learned the victory gained by Antonius Primus at Cremona, and soon after received the news of Vitellius's death from several quarters: for though it was then the depth of winter, not only couriers, but numbers of persons of all ranks and conditions, set out from Rome, braving the dangers of the sea, in hopes of having the merit of being the first to acquaint Vespasian that he had no longer any rival, and that the capital of the empire submitted to his laws.

* The three cities, Oca, Leptis, and Sabrata, with their territories, composed the little state called Tripoli, or country of the three cities. The city of Tripoli took its name from thence.

laws. The best ships of Alexandria were immediately loaded with corn, and set sail by his orders. They reached Italy just in time, for there were only ten days' provisions in Rome when they arrived. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Whilst Vespasian was at Alexandria, he received embassadors from Vologeses, who offered him forty thousand Parthian horse. It was a glorious situation to receive, unasked, offers of that consequence, had he wanted them. Vespasian thanked Vologeses, acquainted him that peace was restored to the Roman empire, and advised him to send an embassy to the senate.

His youngest son's behaviour gave him great uneasiness in the midst of all his prosperity. Domitian's actions even then spoke what his future life verified but too much. He gave into the most excessive debaucheries: adultery was a trifling affair with him: he forced away Domitia, the wife of Elius Lamia, and daughter of Corbulo, and kept her at first as his mistress, though he afterwards married her. As ambitious as he was dissolute, he would have usurped all authority, had he not been prevented. He gave away in one day upwards of twenty considerable posts in the city and provinces; which made Vespasian say, in one of his letters to him, 'I thank you for not having yet 'sent me a successor, and for your kindness in 'vouchsafing to let me enjoy the empire.' Domitian's behaviour grieves him. Suet. Dom. 1. and Dio. Vesp.

Titus showed the goodness of his heart on this occasion. He had accompanied Vespasian to Alexandria, where, taking leave of him to go, by his order, and finish the war against the Jews, he begged he would not give too much credit to reports injurious to his son, but first hear what so dear a person had to offer in his defence. He represented to him, 'that * neither armies nor fleets Titus's good heart. Tac. IV. Hist. 52.

'are

* Non legiones, non classes, perinde firma imperii munimenta quam numerum liberorum. Nam amicos tempore fortunâ, cupidinibus

A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

'are, to princes, a safeguard equal to a numerous 'offspring. That friends are apt to change with 'times and circumstances; that passion and pre-'judices cool, detach, and often make them em-'brace contrary parties; whereas the ties of blood 'are indissoluble, and especially among princes, 'whose prosperity interests even strangers, though 'their disgraces are felt most by those who are 'nearest to them. He added, that it was difficult 'for brothers to live in harmony, if their father 'did not set them a suitable example.' Vespasian, pleased with Titus's good disposition, and well knowing what judgment to form of Domitian, contented himself with exhorting his eldest son to continue to behave well, and maintain the glory of the Roman arms; adding, that he would take care to preserve peace in his own family and the state.

Vespasian not beloved by the Alexandrians. Zonar.

Vespasian staid some months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind and good weather. He had likewise another reason for not hastening his departure from thence. He thought the siege of Jerusalem would not keep his son Titus long employed, and purposed, when that should be over, to take him to Rome with him. The Alexandrians did not like him during his stay among them. They were fond of pomp and magnificence, and Vespasian loved simplicity. They had flattered themselves with hopes of receiving a gratification, because they had been the first who acknowledged him for emperor; but so far were they from obtaining their wish, that, loving money as he did, they were harassed with imposts, either new, or levied with uncommon rigour. The Alexandrians endeavoured to revenge themselves by sneers and sarcasms; but Heaven, if we

Dio. et Suet. Vesp. 19.

dinibus aliquando aut erroribus, imminui, transferri, desinora. Suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum, sed maximè principibus: quorum prosperis et alii fruantur, adversa ad junctissimos pertineant. Ne fratribus quidem mansuram concordiam, ni pater exemplum præbuisset. *Tac.*

we credit some Pagan writers, took care to distinguish him by miracles. A.R. 821. A. C. 70.

Two men of the lower class of people, the one almost blind, the other lame of one hand, came to him, pretending that the god Serapis, who among other attributes, was the god of physic with the Egyptians, had revealed to them that the emperor would cure them; the one by anointing his eyes with spittle, the other by treading on his hand. Vespasian, averse to all vain boasting and fabulous stories, laughed at them at first, and rejected the proposal; but yielding at last to their entreaties, and urged by flattery, he ordered them to be examined by physicians. Their report gave him hopes. They said that the organs of sight were not destroyed in him who complained of his eyes, and that the other's hand was only dislocated, and might be set right by a strong pressure.. To these observations, which their knowledge in their profession furnished them with, they added the court language, flattery. 'Perhaps,' said they, 'it is the will of the 'gods that the prince should be manifestly ac-'knowledged the instrument of their goodness to-'wards mankind. After all, if the cure fails, 'the shame will reflect on those poor wretches; if 'it succeeds, it will redound to the emperor's glo-'ry.' Vespasian, prevailed on by such speeches, and thinking nothing impossible to his high fortune, with an air of confidence ordered the sick men to be brought to him, in the presence of a vast multitude of people impatiently waiting the event: he performed the operations as prescribed, and the success answered: the blind man recovered his sight instantly, and the lame the use of his hand. Tacitus, to confirm the truth of this relation, adds that at the time when he wrote, which was in Trajan's reign, many who had been witnesses to the deed attested it, though they could have no interest to assert a falsity. Pretended miracles of Vespasian. Tac. IV. Hist. 81. Suet. Vesp. 7. Dio.

One

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. One cannot well refuse giving credit to such authority, backed by Suetonius and Dion Cassius. But, at the same time, we ought carefully to observe that these disorders, which Vespasian cured, were not of an incurable nature; and, consequently, we are at liberty to think that the healing of them did not exceed the power of the demon. It cannot be doubted but that the establishment of Christianity drove the prince of darkness, whose empire was thereby destroyed, to his last shifts. He therefore strove, by doing some extraordinary things, to rival the real miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, his apostles, and their disciples. The affected use of spittle on this occasion is evidently copied from the miraculous cure of the man born blind.

The two miracles I have just mentioned are not the only ones for which Vespasian's abode in Alexandria is famous. A third is recorded, but neither of the same importance, nor so well attested. It is said, that while Vespasian was in the temple of Serapis consulting the oracle of that god, turning round, he saw one of the chief men of Egypt, called Basilides, who was at that time sick in bed upwards of fourscore miles off. The name Basilides being derived from a Greek word which signifies *king*, the god was supposed to give his answer by that miraculous apparition, and to foretel Vespasian that he would be emperor. I need not say how frivolous this story is: for my part, I see nothing in it but a groundless and useless absurdity.

Vespasian's order to rebuild the capitol. Ceremony of laying the first stone. Tac. IV. Hist. 53. From Alexandria Vespasian sent orders to Rome to rebuild the capitol, and gave the direction of that work to L. Vestinus, who, though but a Roman knight, was so respected as to be on a level with the first senators. Vestinus assembled the aruspices, who, after consulting the entrails of the victims, declared that the rubbish of the old temple must be thrown into marshes, and the new one built on the same spot, observing the same lines,

lines, proportions, and plan; for that the gods would have no alteration made. Tacitus gives a full account of the ceremonies observed on laying the first stone: the reader curious in antiquity may not be displeased at my transcribing what he says. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

On the twenty-first of June, the weather being quite fair and serene, the space destined for the temple was surrounded with ribands and crown. The procession was opened by a band of soldiers, chosen with a superstitious care out of those whose names seemed to portend good luck: they held in their hands branches of trees reputed fortunate. The vestals followed next, accompanied by two chairs of children of both sexes, all whose fathers and mothers were still living. They sprinkled the earth with clear water, taken out of streams, springs, and rivers. The two consuls, Vespasian and Titus, being then absent, as well as Domitian the city pretor, who, for the reasons we shall soon mention, was gone with Mucian to the war against Civilis. Helvidius Priscus, being at the head of the college of pretors, presided as such at this ceremony. Assisted by the pontiff Plautus Elianus, he offered up a solemn sacrifice, and spread the entrails of the victims on the grass, addressing a prayer to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and all the gods protectors of the empire, beseeching them to bless the enterprise in hand, and by their divine power to raise and conduct to its proper height a building founded by the piety of men. The pontiff, having ended his prayer, laid his hand on the ribands that were tied to the end of the ropes fastened to a large stone. The other magistrates, priests, numbers of senators and knights, together with a multitude of the common people, then laid hold of the ropes, and, full of joy and ardour, began to heave the stone, till they brought it to the spot where the workmen were ready to receive and lay it. Each

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. threw pieces of gold, silver, and ores of various metals, into the foundation. The aruspices charged them not to profane the building by using any materials that had served before for any use whatever. The new capitol was built higher than the old one. This was the only alteration that was thought consistent with religion, and it was also the only thing wanting to complete the magnificence of the former temple.

What we have left of Tacitus's writings affords us no other events relating to Vespasian's reign, except the conclusion of the war with Civilis, and the beginning of that with the Jews. I shall resume the former where I dropped it.

SECT. II.

The Gauls prepare to revolt and join Civilis. Council held at Cologne by the chiefs of the rebels. They endeavour to deceive and surprise Vocula. They corrupt the fidelity of the legions. Vocula's speech to the faithless soldiers. Classicus, chief of the revolted Gauls, causes Vocula to be killed. The legions lately commanded by Vocula swear fidelity to the Gauls. Cologne, and the Roman troops on the Upper Rhine, do the same. The legions besieged in Vetera surrender, and take the same oath. They are destroyed. Neither Civilis, nor any other Batavian, takes that oath. He does homage for his victory to Velleda, a pretended prophetess. The captive legions ordered to Treves by their conquerors. The inhabitants of Cologne extricate themselves dexterously from an imminent danger. Civilis grows stronger, and makes new alliances. Sabinus defeated by the Sequani. Mucian thinks of leaving Rome, in order to draw nearer to the Rhine, and takes the post of pretorian prefect from Arrius Varus. He thwarts Antonius Primus.

mus, who repairs to Vespasian, with whom he remains destitute of all power. Domitian's eagerness to depart: Mucian's slowness: seven legions ordered to the Rhine. The Gauls, assembled at Rheims, resolve to remain quiet. The people of Treves persist in their revolt. Cerialis arrives, and takes upon him the command of the Roman troops. His character. Victory gained by him over the people of Treves. They submit. Cerialis preserves their city from being plundered. The legions that had sworn fidelity to the Gauls join Cerialis's army. The people of Langres submit. Cerialis's speech to the people of Treves and Langres to confirm them in their good disposition. Civilis attacks the Romans, and surprises their camp. Cerialis retakes his camp, and gains a victory over the enemy. Cologne returns to the Roman alliance. Cerialis's hopes raised by some slight successes. Mucian, being informed of the advantages gained by Cerialis, obliges Domitian not to go beyond Lyons. Domitian's seditious projects. His feigned modesty. Signal victory gained by Cerialis over the Batavians near Vetera. Civilis demolishes Drusus's dike. Bold but unsuccessful attempt of Civilis. Cerialis's negligence. He is very near being taken by the enemy. Civilis's last attempt. Dangers to which the Romans are exposed in the island of the Batavians. Submission of Civilis, and end of the war. Time when Jerusalem was taken.

THE news of Vitellius's death reaching Germany increased the rage of war, and the strength of the rebels there. Civilis, throwing off the mask he had worn till then, openly declared himself an enemy to the Roman name. The legions, still cherishing the memory of Vitellius, seemed disposed to suffer a foreign servitude, rather than obey Vespasian. The Gauls, whom Civilis had long been tampering with, at last declared themselves, A. R. 821. A. C. 70. Tac. IV. Hist. 54. The Gauls prepare to revolt and join Civili

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. selves, and their inclination to revolt chanced just then to be encouraged by additional but frivolous expectations.

A report was spread in Gaul that the Sarmatians and Dacians were making incursions into Pannonia and Mœsia, and that they had laid siege to the winter-quarters of the legions in those two provinces. The report was not groundless; for Fonteius Agrippa, who had been left by Mucian to command in Mœsia, was killed in an engagement with the barbarians. Their advantage was, however, but short-lived. The Romans soon regained the ascendancy, and drove them back beyond the Danube. In the mean time, that first success of those nations, enemies to Rome, had made a strong impression on the Gauls, with whom another report of the same nature, concerning Britain, prevailed at the same time; from whence they concluded that the Romans were as distressed and unfortunate in every other place as in Germany. But nothing convinced them so thoroughly of the impending ruin of the Roman empire as the burning of the capitol. They buoyed themselves up with the most pleasing chimeras in consequence of that event. Their ancestors, they said, had indeed taken the city of Rome, but then the mansion of the great Jupiter had remained safe and untouched, and the empire still subsisted; whereas now the wrath of Heaven was manifested in giving up to the flames that seat and pledge of the fate of the empire: Their druids encouraged them in these idle dreams, promising them the conquest of the whole world. The Gauls likewise availed themselves of a pretended agreement with Otho, who, they said, obtained the assistance of the chief of their countrymen against Vitellius, on this express condition only, that it should be lawful for them not to let slip any opportunity of recovering their liberty, in case the forces of the Roman empire should be reduced by a continuance of the civil wars.

Jos. de B. Jud. VII. 22. Tac.

Such were the reasons that induced the Gauls to take final measures to rebel immediately after the death of Hordeonius Flaccus. Negotiations were then carried on briskly between Civilis and Julius Classicus, a native of Treves, and commander of a regiment of horse of that country in the Roman service. Classicus was distinguished above all his countrymen by his power and birth, being descended from the ancient kings of that country. He reckoned a long series of ancestors, illustrious both in peace and war; but above all, he gloried in being born rather an enemy to the Romans than their friend. Classicus was joined by Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus; the one of Treves, the other of Langres. Tutor had been ordered by Vitellius to guard the borders of the Rhine: Sabinus, vain and full of levity, claimed a descent from Julius Cæsar, whom, he said, his great-grandmother had had the good fortune to please when that conqueror was making war in Gaul, and gloried in being descended from the adulterous offspring of the man by whom his country was subdued. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Each of these three chiefs set about sounding and gaining over all whom they thought likely to enter into their views, and capable of being useful in the execution of them. As soon as they found their party tolerably strong, they assembled them at Cologne, and held a council with them in a private house, for the magistrates and most of the inhabitants of that city were friends to the Romans. Some Ubians and Tongrians did indeed enter into the confederacy, but the people of Treves and Langres were its main support. Council held at Cologne by the chiefs of the rebels.

The deliberation was not long. The whole assembly, animated with passion, and elated with great hopes, unanimously cried out, 'That Gaul never 'had so fair an opportunity to shake off a foreign 'yoke: That rage and discord possessed the Ro-

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'man people: That their legions were destroying 'one another, Italy laid waste, and the city of Rome 'but lately taken, as they had seen, by her own ci- 'tizens: That each of the Roman armies had a se- 'parate war to carry on: That they would begin 'with blocking up the passes of the Alps; and 'that when the Gauls should have thoroughly secu- 'red their liberty, they would consider what bounds 'to set to their noble courage.' Thus was their revolt unanimously resolved on without the least difficulty or hesitation.

It was not so easy to determine what measures were best to be taken with regard to the Roman legions which still remained on the Rhine. Many were for extirpating those seditious and faithless troops, for so they called them, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of their commanders. Others, more cool and prudent, represented the danger of rousing their courage by driving them to despair. That consideration prevailed. It was resolved to kill only the officers, and endeavour to gain over the soldiers; not doubting but that the remembrance of their guilt, and the hopes of impunity, would render them tractable, and easily fix them to their party.

They endeavour to deceive and surprise Vocula.

Such was the result of the first council held by the chiefs of the rebels. They despatched trusty emissaries to the several parts of Gaul to spirit up and raise the people, whilst they themselves continued in appearance quiet and submissive, the better to deceive Vocula, and choose their own time to fall upon him unawares.

Vocula was however apprised of the conspiracy; but he was not in a condition to make the rebels fear him, because his legions were reduced to a small number of fighting men, on whose fidelity he could not depend. Surrounded as he was by troops he could not trust, and by secret enemies whom he had every

every reason to fear, he judged it most prudent to dissemble, and defend himself by the very means made use of to attack him. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

He arrived at Cologne, to which place came soon after Claudius Labeo, who being banished, as I before said, by Civilis, at the beginning of the disturbances among the Frisons, had bribed his guards, and, full of indignation and resentment, offered to undertake to bring the greater part of the Batavian nation back to the Roman alliance, if he could but have a small body of troops. He promised more than was in his power to perform. Though Vocula gave him the detachment he desired, all he did was to bring over a small number of Nervians and * Betasians; and his exploits ended in a few furtive incursions on the territories of the Caninefates.

Vocula soon felt the fatal effects of the so long projected treason of his enemies. The chiefs of the Gauls prevailed on him to march against Civilis, who still laid seige to Vetera. When they were pretty near that place, Classicus and Tutor left him, under pretence of going to reconnoitre the enemy, and made their terms with the Germans; in consequence of which they separated from the legions, and formed a camp to themselves.

Vocula upbraided them strongly with their perfidy, and sternly bade them not imagine that the Roman power, notwithstanding its divisions and civil wars, could ever be slighted with impunity by the people of Treves and Langres. 'We have 'still left,' said he, 'faithful provinces, victorious 'armies, the fortune of the empire, and the pro-'tection of the gods, avengers of violated faith. 'Our too great lenity has spoiled you. * Cæsar and

4 'Augustus

* The Betasians inhabited a part of the present Brabant. The village of Beets, not far from Halle in Brabant, seems to have taken its name from these people.

† Melius divo Julio, divoque Augusto, notos eorum animos. Gal-

bam,

A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

'Augustus were better acquainted with the temper of the Gauls. Galba's mildness, and the diminution of your tributes, are what imbolden you thus to revolt. When beaten and stripped, you will be glad to become our friends again.' The rebels were determined, and Vocula, finding that neither his complaints nor menaces were heeded, turned back and retired to Nuys. The Gauls encamped in a plain within two miles of the Romans.

They corrupt the fidelity of the legions.

A most infamous and unparalleled negotiation was set on foot there. By promises and money given to the centurions and soldiers, a Roman army was prevailed on to swear allegiance to a foreign power, and to seal that shameful bargain with the death or captivity of its commanders. In that dangerous situation, many advised Vocula to seek safety in flight; but, undauntedly intrepid, he resolved to face the storm, and drawing up his soldiers, spoke to them as follows:

Vocula's speech to his faithless soldiers.

'I never yet harangued you with greater concern for you, nor with less for myself. I learn with pleasure the conspiracy formed against my life. In the midst of so many evils, I see nothing terrible in death. It is on the contrary, a pleasing thing to me, whilst your situation fills me with shame and pity, when I see that neither force nor arms (the right of war) are intended to be employed against you; but that Classicus flatters himself with the hopes of making you draw your swords against the Romans, and thinks to enlist you in the service of the Gauls.

'Though fortune and courage forsake us now, can we have lost all remembrance of the many glorious examples of our great forefathers?—'Have

bam, et infracta tributa, hostiles spiritus induisse. Nunc hostes, quia molle servitium; quum spoliati exutique fuerint, amicos fore. *Tac.*

'Have we forgotten how often the Roman legions A. R. 821. A. C. 70.
'have chosen rather to die than give way to the
'enemy? Often, too, our very allies have suffered
'their cities to be totally ruined, and have thrown
'themselves, their wives, and their children, into the
'flames, to prove their glorious fidelity. At this
'very time the legions pent up in Vetera suffer
'want, and endure all the miseries of a siege,
'without being shaken either by threats or pro-
'mises, whilst we want for nothing: we have
'men, arms, good intrenchments, and plenty of
'ammunition and provisions of all kinds. We
'had money enough too but lately to give you
'all a gratification, which, whether you think
'yourselves obliged to Vespasian or Vitellius for
'it, you at least received from a Roman emperor.
'If, after being victorious in so many wars, you
'fear to fight a pitched battle with an enemy whom
'you put to flight at Gelduba and Vetera, that
'dread is unworthy of you. But, even in that
'case, you have walls and ramparts behind which
'you may spin out the contest till you receive
'succours from the neighbouring provinces.

'Granting that you may have reason to be dis-
'satisfied with me, and not to like being under
'my command, still you have lieutenant-generals,
'tribunes, nay centurions, and even private soldiers,
'out of whom you may surely choose some one fit
'to head you, instead of persisting, to the eternal
'shame of the name you bear, in declaring to the
'whole world, that you choose rather to submit
'to Civilis and Classicus, and to war against Italy.
'What! if the Gauls and Germans lead you on
'to the walls of Rome, will you then assault your
'native country? I shudder at the very thought
'of such a crime. Will you then mount guard
'before Tutor's tent? Shall a Batavian give you
'the signal for battle? Will you condescend to be
'treated like recruits to fill up the German
'armies?

A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

'armies? After all, * what will be the end of 'such guilty baseness? When the Roman legions 'shall be drawn up in battle against you, what 'will you do? how will you behave? Then, add- 'ding treason to treason, deserters from your new 'friends, or doubtfully suspended between two 'contrary oaths by which you will have bound 'yourselves, you will become the execration of 'gods and men.

'O Jupiter, † to whose immortal honour we 'have solemnized so many triumphs during up- 'wards of eight hundred years: Quirinus! father 'and founder of the Roman city, I now invoke 'your power. If it has not pleased you that I 'should preserve this camp free from shame and 'guilt, suffer it not to be polluted by a Tutor 'and a Classicus. Avert such guilt from Roman 'soldiers; or, without punishing them for it, in- 'spire them with a quick and just repentance.'

Classicus, chief of the revolted Gauls, causes Vocula to be killed.

So pathetic a speech had but little effect; a few transient emotions of fear and shame were all that it produced, and Vocula, losing all hopes, was going to kill himself. His freedmen and slaves prevented him; but all the service they did him thereby was to reserve him for the revenge of Classicus, who caused him to be killed by a Roman deserter called Emilius Longinus. As to the two other lieutenant-generals, Herennius and Numisius, he only put them in irons.

The legions lately commanded by Vocula swear fidelity to the Gauls.

After these preliminaries, Classicus, in the garb of a Roman general, and preceded by lictors, entered the

* Quis deinde sceleris exitus? Quum Romanæ legiones contrà direxerint, transfugæ è transfugis, et proditores è proditoribus, inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi deis errabitis?

† Te Jupiter O. M. quem, per octingentos viginti annos, tot triumphis coluimus: te Quirine, Romanæ parens urbis, precor venerorque, ut si vobis non fuit cordi, me duce hæc castra incorrupta et intemerata servari; at certe pollui fœdarique a Tutore et Classico non sinatis. Militibus Romanis, aut innocentiam detis, aut maturam et sine noxa pœnitentiam. *Tac.*

the camp. Notwithstanding all his assurance, what he did seemed so extraordinary even to himself, that he could not find words to harangue the troops, but only barely recited the formulary of the oath. The soldiers of the legions swore to fight faithfully for the empire of the Gauls. Classicus promoted the murderers of Vocula to the highest military honours. Such others as had been of use to him in bringing about his ends, were rewarded in proportion to the share they had in so mean and base a transaction. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

This great success of the rebels was attended with the most promising consequences to them, and made them masters of the whole province, and of all the troops the Romans had in it. Tutor, presenting himself before Cologne with a considerable force, obliged the inhabitants of that city to take the same oath that the legions of the camp at Nuys had done. He likewise exacted and received it from all the troops that were towards Mentz, and on the Upper Rhine. Such officers as refused to take it, were either killed or expelled. Cologne and the Roman troops on the Upper Rhine do the same.

There still remained the camp at Vetera, in which the besieged legions had till then endured the utmost distress and want: after being reduced to kill their beasts of burden and war-horses, and to eat the flesh of them, as well as that of creatures abhorred by nature, they fed upon the grass that grew betwixt the stones, and upon the leaves and young shoots of trees, till at last every kind of sustenance failed them. In this situation Classicus sent to them the most corrupt and abject of those who had surrendered, with offers of pardon if they would do the same, and orders to declare to them, at the same time, that if they did not, they must expect to perish miserably by famine or the sword. These worthy deputies alleged their own example as a further inducement. The * besieged hesitated The legions besieged in Vetera surrender, and take the same oath.

some

* Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas, inter decus ac flagitium distrahebant . . . Miseriarum patientiæque documentum fuere, donec

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. some time between their duty and the extreme hardships they suffered, between glory and shame. He who deliberates in such a case soon yields. They resolved to disgrace their past courage, and all the merit of the brave defence they had made till then, by a shameful submission; and accordingly they sent a deputation to Civilis begging their lives. He refused to hear them, till they had sworn fidelity to the emperor of the Gauls. When they had bound themselves by that infamous oath, Civilis promised to spare their lives, and permit them to march out of the camp with their arms; but at the same time he reserved the whole plunder for himself and his followers, and immediately sent in troops with orders to seize all the money, servants, and baggage.

They are destroyed. This so shameful capitulation was very ill observed. The Germans appointed to escort them attacked them five miles from Vetera. The Romans, though greatly surprised, put themselves in a posture of defence. The bravest of them were killed on the spot; others fled, but were pursued and slain; the rest returned to the camp, and complained to Civilis, who blamed the Germans, and reproved them for their perfidy. Tacitus does not say whether he spoke sincerely, or only endeavoured to save appearances. But the manner in which that Batavian behaved to the wretched remains of the Roman legions, puts it out of doubt; for, after plundering the camp, he set fire to it, and those who had escaped the sword perished in the flames.

Civilis, who, as was usual among the barbarians, had made a vow, at the beginning of the war, to let his hair grow, thought that vow accomplished by the destruction of the legions at Vetera, and accordingly shaved his head. He is taxed with having

donec egregiam laudem, sine turpi macularent, missis ad Civilem legatis vitam orantes. *Tac.*

having made his son, then very young, inhumanly perform his first trial of arms on some of the Roman prisoners, by shooting arrows, and throwing darts at them, as at a mark. That would indeed have been a monstrous barbarity! A. R. 831. A. C. 70.

It is remarkable that Civilis took particular care not to engage either himself or any other Batavian to the Gauls, by taking the oath so rigorously exacted from the Romans. He reserved his rights and pretentions entire, judging that if he should one day be obliged to contest the empire with the Gauls, his German forces and personal reputation would easily get the better of them. Neither Civilis, nor any other Batavian, binds himself by that oath.

He did homage for his victory to the pretended prophetess Velleda, who had foretold it. I have already spoken of that woman, who was made a goddess by the superstition of the Germans, and whose name, already famous, acquired a new degree of celebrity by her foretelling an event so fully verified. Civilis sent her the first-fruits of the Roman spoils, and a prisoner of distinction, Mummius Lupercus, commander of one of the legions destroyed at Vetera; but those who were to conduct him to her, killed him by the way. The conqueror spared the lives of a few centurions and tribunes, natives of Gaul, whom he reserved as a pledge of alliance between the two nations. He demolished and burnt the winter-quarters of the cohorts, horse and legions, except those that were near Mentz and Vindonissa*. He does homage for his victory to Velleda, a pretended prophetess.

The thirteenth legion, remaining at Nuys, after having betrayed Vocula and submitted to the Gauls, was ordered to Treves, and the day was appointed on which it was to march. The soldiers were agitated with various thoughts till the hour came. The most timid of them were afraid of being killed, remembering The captive legions ordered to Treves by their conquerors. Tac. IV. Hist. 62.

* Windisch in Switzerland, at the junction of the rivers Aar and Reuff.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. remembering the late example of the legions of Vetera, cut to pieces by their escort. Those who thought less ignobly were struck with shame when they reflected on their situation. 'What a march, 'said they to one another, are we to make? who 'will conduct us? who will be at our head? we 'are no longer any better than a troop of slaves, 'whose lives and deaths depend on the pleasure 'of our haughty masters.' Others, without regarding the infamy of their condition, thought only how they could best secure their money and most valuable effects, and some got their arms ready as if they had been going to fight.

* Amidst these fears and perplexities, the time of marching came still more sorrowful than they had expected it to be; for they felt their ignominy less whilst within their intrenchments than when it stared them in the face in the open plain. Their dirty and neglected standards, despoiled of the images of the Cæsars, formed a shocking contrast with the brilliant ensigns of the Gauls: a long file marched in dismal silence, with all the mournful appearance of a funeral-procession. The chief under whose conduct they were put had lost one eye, and his temper answered the ferociousness of his looks.

On their arrival at Bonn, they were joined by another legion, which, increasing their number, increased their shame; and as the news of this event

* Hæc meditantibus, advenit proficiscendi hora, expectatione tristior. Quippe intra vallum, deformitas haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies. Revulsæ imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa, fulgentibus hinc inde gallorum vexillis, silens agmen, et velut longæ exsequiæ. Dux Claudius Sanctus effosso oculo, dirus ore, ingenio debilior. Duplicatur flagitium, postquam desertis Bonnensibus castris, altera se legio miscuerat. Et vulgatâ captarum legionum famâ, cuncti qui paulo ante Romanum nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque, et undique effusi, insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. *Tac.*

event was spread over the country, those who but lately trembled at the name of Romans, now ran in crowds to see the captive legions pass, and enjoy so unexpected a sight. One may judge how bitter their insults and reproaches must have been. A considerable body of Picentine horse, unable to bear them, and disregarding the threats and promises of him who led the march, made the best of their way to Mentz. On the road they met the wretch that had murdered Vocula, and killed him; expressing by that deed their first inclination to return to their duty. The legions continued their march, and encamped before Treves. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Civilis and Classicus, elated with their success, deliberated whether or no they should deliver up the city of Cologne to be plundered. Their love of cruelty and gain inclined them to it, but policy seemed to forbid taking such a step. They were sensible that * nothing is of greater consequence to those who aim at founding a new empire, than to be thought mild and clement. Gratitude had likewise some power over Civilis, whose son being in Cologne at the beginning of the disturbances, had been used extremely well by the inhabitants. The inhabitants of Cologne extricate themselves dexterously from an imminent danger.

But the nations beyond the Rhine hated that city, whose power and rapid increase gave them umbrage; and wanted either to make it a common receptacle for all Germans, or to demolish it, that the Ubians, being dispersed, might be no longer able to give them any uneasiness. The Tencteri accordingly notified their intentions to the inhabitants of Cologne by embassadors, the most haughty and audacious of whom spoke as follows: 'We 'return thanks to the gods of our common 'country, and particularly to Mars, the greatest 'of all the gods, that you are again returned to 'the body of the German nation, and we con-

'gratulate

* Novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'gratulate you on your having at last recovered 'a liberty which renders you equal to us.' For 'till now the Romans forbade us the use of rivers 'and lands, and almost of the air itself; they cut 'off all commerce between us; or, which is still 'more insupportable to men born to carry arms, 'we were not allowed to confer and treat together, 'unless unarmed and almost naked, and overlooked 'by keepers whose avarice we have been forced 'to satiate. In order to cement an eternal friend-'ship and alliance with you, we have undertaken 'to offer you these conditions. Beat down the 'walls of your colony, which are the support and 'bond of servitude. The fiercest even of the 'brute creation grow tame and passive by being 'confined and pent up. Massacre every Roman in 'your territories. Liberty is incompatible with 'masters accustomed to tyrannize over you. Di-'vide among you the spoils of all that shall be 'killed, that no one may have a pretence to 'separate his from the common cause. Let us all 'be allowed equally to inhabit and frequent, with-'out distinction, both sides of the river, as in the 'time of our forefathers. All men have by nature 'a right to enjoy the benefits of the sun and light, 'and all lands are alike the property of the brave. 'Resume the manners and customs of your fathers, '* and renounce those pleasures which enervate 'your courage, and help the Romans, more than 'their arms do, to extend their conquests. Be 'again true Germans, without any mixture of 'foreign blood, without any remains of servitude, 'and you will be on a level with other nations, if 'you do not even command over them.'

The people of Cologne took time to consider; and as, on one hand, the fear of what might be the consequence

* Abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversùs subjectos, quam armis valent. *Tac.*

consequence, prevented their accepting the terms proposed; and, on the other, their present danger did not allow their rejecting them entirely; they concluded on an answer calculated to give the Tencteri some hopes, without exposing themselves too much to the resentment of the Romans. Accordingly they replied: 'The moment an opportunity to regain our liberty offered, we seized it with more eagerness than prudence, in hopes of uniting ourselves once more to you and our other German brethren. As to the walls of our city, it is more proper to fortify than pull them down, whilst Roman armies are assembling in order to attack us. If we had among us some foreigners, natives of Italy or other parts, the war has carried them off, or they have retired to their own homes. With regard to those who formerly settled here, they have since intermarried with us, and they and their children look upon this city as their country; nor can we think you so unjust as to desire us to murder our fathers, brothers, and children. We have shaken off the yoke of tributes and imposts. We consent to let the river be free, provided none pass but in the day-time, and without arms. That precaution is necessary till the new state of affairs shall have taken deeper root. We will abide by what Civilis and Velleda shall determine, and the treaty shall be drawn up and concluded under their direction.' A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

This answer appeased the Tencteri; deputies were sent to Civilis and Velleda, who approved of the plan proposed by the inhabitants of Cologne.

Civilis, backed by these new allies, undertook to gain over the neighbouring people, or reduce by force such as resisted. He possessed himself of the country of the Sunicians*, and enlisted their young Civilis grows stronger, and makes new alliances.

* Cluvier places the Sunicians between the Roure and the Maese.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. men, whom he formed into cohorts. He was preparing to go further, when Claudius Labeo, at the head of some troops raised in haste among the Nervians, Tongrians, and Betasians, met and stopped him at the bridge over the Maese *. His post being advantageous, he disputed the ground bravely, until the Germans, swimming over the river, came round and attacked his rear. At the same time Civilis, either from a sudden boldness of thought, or that he had before concerted what to do, advanced towards the Tongrians, and, raising his voice, cried out to them, 'We have not taken up arms to gain 'an empire for the Batavians, nor for the people 'of Treves. We are far from presuming to think 'of such arrogance. Receive us as allies: I am 'ready to go over to you, if you will but take me, 'either to command you, or to fight under your 'banners.'—This artful speech made a strong impression on the multitude; and the soldiers, to whom it was directed, were already sheathing their swords, when Campanus and Juvenalis, who held the highest rank among the Tongrians, came and offered Civilis the assistance of that whole nation. Labeo retreated before his troops were surrounded. The Betasians and Nervians followed the example of the Tongrians; and Civilis's army, increased by the addition of these three nations, carried all before it.

Sabinus defeated by the Sequani. Julius Sabinus, with his Langrians, did not meet with equal success. After having destroyed the monuments of alliance with the Romans, whether plates of brass, or pillars on which the articles were engraved, he publicly assumed the name of Cæsar; and as if that name, so unjustly and ignominiously usurped, was of course to give him all the great qualities of the conqueror it had once belonged to, he presumptuously led a multitude of his countrymen,

* Some of the learned think that this bridge over the Maese was probably the beginning of the city of Maestricht.

men, badly armed, and worse disciplined, against the Sequani, faithful allies of the Romans. The Sequani accepted the battle, and were victorious. Sabinus behaved as poorly in his disgrace as he had presumptuously when in a more flourishing condition. He fled to a house in the country, and set it on fire, to make people think he perished in it; but in fact he went and hid himself in subterraneous caves, where he spent nine years with the famous Epponina, his wife. We shall speak of their singular adventures, and fatal catastrophe, at a proper time. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Mucian thinks of leaving Rome, in order to draw nearer to the Rhine; and takes the post of pretorian prefect from Arrius Varus.

The news of Civilis's success, to which fame, as usual, made vast additions, gave Mucian great uneasiness. He had made choice of two illustrious warriors, Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerialis, to command, the one in Upper, the other in Lower Germany; not without some apprehension that they would not be able to sustain the weight of so important a war. He therefore thought of going thither in person, and of taking with him Domitian, whom he judged not fit to be left to himself. But he could not leave Rome without securing the tranquillity of that city; and he greatly distrusted Arrius Varus and Antonius Primus. The first thing he did was, to take the command of the pretorian guards from Varus, whom he made, by way of amends, superintendent of the provisions, a post of honour, but no power. As he apprehended that Domitian, who loved Varus, might be displeased at this change, he made Aretinus Clemens, who was allied to the imperial family, and very agreeable to the young prince, prefect of the pretorians. Clemens's father had held the same post under Caligula; and Mucian alleged, in support of what he had done, that the soldiers would readily obey the son of a man who had formerly been at their head. Clemens, though a senator, was accordingly appointed prefect of the pretorian cohorts. He was

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. the first senator that ever held that post, which till then had always been possessed by the order of knights.

He thwarts Antonius Primus, who repairs to Vespasian, with whom he remains destitute of power. Tac. Hist. IV. 80.

Antonius Primus had no title to be stripped of it. But, beloved as he was by the troops, proud, and unable to bear an equal, and much less a superior, he was very capable of exciting disturbances in Rome the moment he should cease to be kept in due awe. Mucian would not let Domitian name him among those who accompanied him in his expedition to Germany. Primus, highly offended, left Rome, and went to Vespasian, who did not receive him so kindly as he expected; though he found that prince very ready to acknowledge his great services, if the rest of his conduct had not prevented it. But the emperor was incessantly told of his arrogance, seditious complaints, and past crimes, both by Mucian's letters and the speeches of many others. Primus himself took care, by his behaviour, to confirm all that was said against him. He boasted beyond measure of his own doings, set himself above all, and seemed to study to make himself enemies, by the liberty with which he bestowed the epithets of coward and dastard; insulting Cecina, and upbraiding him with the captivity from which he had freed him. Such proceedings could not but cool Vespasian's affection for him, though he did not openly show his displeasure. History does not say what became of him after this time.

Domitian's eagerness to depart: Mucian's slowness. Tac. Hist. IV. 67, 68.

Domitian* and Mucian prepared, but very differently, for their intended expedition. The young prince, indulging all his hopes and desires, was extremely impatient to be gone. On the other hand Mucian studied delay, and laid hold of every pretence

* Simul Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur dispari animo: ille spe ac juventâ properus, hic moras nectens quîs flagrantem retineret, ne ferociâ ætatis, et pravis impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci belloque malè consuleret. *Tac.*

tence to defer setting out; fearing lest Domitian, when in the midst of an army, should consult nothing but the heat and rashness of his youth, give ear to bad counsels, and, in consequence thereof, perhaps form projects hurtful either to the peace and welfare of the state, or to the proper conduct of the war. However, he ordered troops from all parts to assemble on the Rhine. Four legions were sent from Italy, two from Spain, and one from Britain: this last was the fourteenth, of which I have often had occasion to speak. A. R. 821. A. C. 70. Seven legions ordered to the Rhine.

The affairs of the rebels began to decline immediately after Sabinus's defeat. That event stopped at once the progress of the revolt, and made all the Gauls who had not yet openly declared themselves, begin to reflect seriously. The people of Rheims, setting the rest an example, convened a general assembly of all Gaul to be held in their city, in order to deliberate whether peace, or liberty purchased at the expense of war and bloodshed, was to be preferred. One may readily judge that the news of the vast forces with which the Romans were preparing to take the field, soon inclined to peace those whose resolution was before shaken. In the general assembly of the deputies of Gaul, held at Rheims, none voted for war except those of Treves. The Gauls assembled at Rheims resolve to remain quiet.

Tullius Valentinus, their speaker, launched out into bitter invectives against the Romans, and, with a torrent of words, laid to their charge all that is usually said against great empires. On the other hand, Julius Auspex, one of the most considerable men of Rheims, exhorted the deputies to consider the greatness of the Roman power, and the advantages attending peace. He desired them to observe, * that cowards are often most forward to undertake a war, but that it is carried on at the risk and

* Sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi cujusque periculo geri. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. and peril of such as are most brave; and, lastly, he represented how near the legions were already to them. These arguments had their weight, and determined the suffrages of the whole assembly. The wisest and most prudent were influenced by a sense of the fidelity and duty which they owed, and the young men by fear. Valentinus's courage was applauded, but Auspex's advice was followed.

Jealousies between one people and another had likewise some share in the resolution of this assembly. They began to ask each other who should have the command and conduct of the war, and where the seat of empire should be fixed, if things succeeded to their desire. Victory * was far enough distant when discord began already to break out. Each urged his own pretensions; one founded his on ancient treaties, another boasted the power or nobility of his people and city. The future inconveniences, which they foresaw must necessarily ensue, fixed them for the present. Letters were accordingly sent to the people of Treves in the name of the whole assembly, advising them to lay down their arms, and representing to them that the circumstances of things would facilitate their pardon, and that all the nations of Gaul would intercede for them with the Romans. Valentinus shut the ears of his countrymen against these salutary remonstrances by his audacious speeches. He was a great talker, a bad warrior, and seemed entirely to neglect making preparations suitable to the importance of such an enterprise.

The people of Treves persist in their revolt.

Nor did the other chiefs think more seriously of the common interest of the league. Civilis, bent on satiating his private animosity against Claudius Labeo, pursued a fugitive through every part of Gaul. Classicus, indulging himself in slothful inaction, thought only of enjoying the fruits of victory.

* Nondum victoria, jam discordia erat. *Tac.*

Tutor, who had undertaken to guard the borders of the Upper Rhine, and the passes of the Alps, to stop the troops coming from Italy, let them get the start of him; and the twenty-first legion, some auxiliary cohorts, and a regiment of horse commanded by Julius Briganticus, nephew and a bitter enemy to Civilis, finding the passes open, penetrated into the country occupied by the rebels. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Tutor gained a small advantage at first, but was soon after beaten and put to flight near Bingen. The people of Treves, terrified by this one repulse, lost all courage. Their troops dispersed, and some of their chief men retired to cities which remained faithful to the Romans, that they might plead the merit of being the first that returned to their duty. Valentinus was absent all this time; but the moment he heard what was doing, he flew to the spot, quite furious, and, backed by Tutor, made his countrymen take up arms again; and, to seal their revolt by a crime that must necessarily cut off all hopes of pardon, he massacred two illustrious Roman prisoners, Herennius and Numisius, commanders of the unhappy legions which submitted to the Gauls at Nuys and Bonn.

Cerialis arrives, and takes upon him the command of the Roman troops. His character.

Such was the situation of affairs when Petilius Cerialis arrived at Mentz, and by his presence revived the hopes of the Romans. He was an enterprising general *, full of confidence, with which he likewise inspired the troops by his speeches. More disposed to fight than guard against the enemy, he talked of nothing but fighting, and ending the strife at once. The first thing he did was to dismiss all the troops raised from among the Gauls, bidding them tell their countrymen, wherever they went, 'That the Roman legions wanted no foreign 'help to maintain the glory of the empire: That

* Ipse pugnæ avidus, et contemnendis quam cavendis hostibus melior, ferocia, verborum militem incendebat: ubi primum congredi licuisset, nullam prælio moram facturus. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'their allies had no occasion to think of any thing 'but peace and quiet; that they might make 'themselves perfectly easy, and look upon a war 'which the Romans took in hand, as at an end.' The haughtiness * with which he spoke and acted, made the Gauls the more ready to obey; for having recovered their young men whom he had dismissed, they were the better able to pay their tributes; and the contempt in which they were held, contributed to make them still more pliable.

Victory gained by him over the people of Treves.

Cerialis soon confirmed his great promises by deeds. Valentinus, in pursuance to Civilis and Classicus's advice, not to hazard a battle rashly, but to wait till they could collect their forces and join him, had shut himself up with his best men in a castle called *Rigodulum*, † near the Moselle, a place strong by its situation, but made still more so by his care to add new fortifications to it. Cerialis marched against him, not doubting but that the valour and experience of his troops would get the better of the enemy; and accordingly he attacked and took the place. Numbers of the conquered perished in their flight over rocks and precipices. Valentinus and the chief officers were pursued and taken by the Roman horse.

They submit. Cerialis preserves their city from being plundered.

This affair was decisive, and determined the people of Treves to submit. The next day Cerialis entered their city, which, with great difficulty, he preserved from being plundered. So highly were the soldiers incensed against the native country of Classicus and Tutor, that they wanted much more to revenge than to enrich themselves, and accordingly they offered to give up all the booty to the public treasury, if they were not suffered to reek their indignation against a place filled with the spoils

* Auxit ea res Gallorum obsequium; nam receptâ juventute facilius tributa toleravere, proniores ad officia, quod spernebantur. *Tac.*

† Rigol, a village on the Moselle, a little below Treves.

spoils of legions, and stained with the blood of their leaders. Cerialis would willingly enough have indulged them, but that Treves being a Roman colony, the ruining of it would have been an odious thing. He likewise feared incurring shame and censure, if he should seem to train his troops up to cruelty and licentiousness. He endeavoured, therefore, to appease them, and they obeyed; for they had learnt to be somewhat more tractable since the end of the civil war. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

It was some time since the legions which swore fidelity to the Gauls had left Treves. As soon as they saw that the affairs of the Romans began to prosper in Germany, they recovered themselves, and, of their own accord, swore allegiance to Vespasian. After that step, they could no longer remain amongst the rebels, nor expose themselves to Valentinus's fury. They therefore retired to the territories of the Mediomatrici, now called the Messin. Cerialis, now master of Treves, ordered them to come and join his army. The legions which had sworn fidelity to the Gauls, join Cerialis's army. Tac. Hist. IV. 70 and 72.

Nothing could be more moving than their first arrival. Conscious of * their shame, and penetrated with grief and confusion, they stood motionless, with downcast eyes, and blushing before the victorious legions. No salute was returned, nor had they courage to answer the endearments with which their fellow-soldiers endeavoured to comfort them; but they sought to hide themselves in their tents, and shun the light of day. Not fear of punishment, but remorse and sense of guilt, closed their mouths, and seemed to stupify their very souls. Their comrades were so moved at this melancholy

* Stabant conscientiâ flagitii mœstæ, fixis in terram oculis. Nulla inter coëuntes exercitus salutatio; neque solantibus hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria, et lucem ipsam vitantes. Nec perinde periculum aut metus, quam pudor ac dedecus obstupefecerat attonitis etiam victoribus, qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi, lacrymis ac silentio veniam poscebant. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. lancholy sight, that, unable to speak, they interceded for them by tears and silence only. Cerialis judiciously behaved with mildness towards them, imputing all that had passed to an unhappy fatality, by which both the soldiers and their officers had been blinded, betrayed by the demon of discord, and the fraud of the enemy. 'Do you, said he, 'who now return to your duty, think this day 'the first in which you enter into your country's 'service. Both the emperor and I forget what is 'past.' He then received them into the same camp with his own legions, and strictly enjoined every man never to presume to upbraid his comrade either with his past sedition, or the shame he had suffered from the enemy.

The people of Langres submit. Frontin. Stat. IV. 3.

The people of Treves were conquered; those of Langres submitted, as we learn from Frontinus, who says that the latter feared their lands would be laid waste by the Roman armies; but finding their mistake, and that, on the contrary, they were used with the utmost lenity, they were so touched with such unexpected clemency that they preferred submission to war, though they had at that very time seventy thousand men in arms, and joyfully returned to their obedience to the Romans.

Cerialis's speech to the people of Treves and Langres, to confirm them in their good dispositions.

To confirm these people, just returned to a due sense of their duty, in the sentiments of docility and obedience which it became them to have, and of which they then so strongly felt the impulse, Cerialis continued to act with the same mildness as before; and, without thinking of adding to the woes of repenting criminals, he endeavoured to make them sensible how much it was their real interest to remain steadfastly submissive to the Roman power. To this end, he assembled the Langrians and those of Treves, and harangued them; setting forth all the wars the Romans had made in Gaul and on the Rhine, and showing how they had been the effects, not of cupidity and ambition, but

of

of a sincere desire to deliver the Gauls from their intestine broils, and protect them against the invasions of the Germans. In support of what he advanced, more agreeable indeed to the end he proposed than to strict truth, he quoted the Cimbrians, Teutons, and Ariovistus; and then added, 'Think 'you that you are dearer to Civilis, the Batavians, 'and other nations beyond the Rhine, than your 'forefathers were to their ancestors? The constant 'and invariable motives which have always urged 'the Germans on to make incursions in Gaul, are 'love of rule, thirst after riches, and a desire to 'exchange their bogs and deserts for your more 'happy and more fruitful lands, and at the same 'time to make themselves masters of your persons. '* Liberty is the specious name they boast; but 'be not deceived by them. No one ever yet 'strove to subdue a nation, that did not make use 'of the same language. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

'Gaul was incessantly disturbed by domestic 'and foreign wars, till you became a part of our 'empire; and we, though so often victorious over 'your forefathers, have never made any other use 'of our victories than to subject you to what is 'absolutely necessary for the maintenance of peace: '† for it is not possible to preserve the tranquillity 'of nations without armies or to keep armies without paying them, or to pay them without raising 'tributes. In other respects your condition is the 'same as ours. You often command our legions, 'you govern these and other provinces of our 'empire. We have reserved no peculiar privilege 'to ourselves, but have admitted you to all our 'prerogatives.

* Libertas et speciosa nomina prætexuntur; nec quisquam alienum servitium, et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet. *Tac.*

† Nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis, haberi queunt. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'prerogatives. If a wise and good emperor reigns 'over us, you enjoy equally with us the benefits 'of his government; whereas the cruelties of bad 'princes affect more immediately those who are 'nearest to them. As you are forced * to bear 'dearth, inundations, and other calamities inci- 'dent to human nature, so should you bear, and 'with equal patience and resignation, the luxury 'or greediness of those who rule over you. Whilst 'there are men, there will be faults; but the chain 'is not uninterrupted, and the good intervals com- 'pensate for the bad. Can you hope to meet with 'a milder government under Tutor and Classicus? 'Will you be able, with fewer tributes, to maintain 'armies sufficient to defend you against the Ger- 'mans and Britons? For such would be to you 'the infallible consequence of the subversion of 'the Roman empire. If that misfortune, which 'the gods avert, were once to happen, you would 'see all the nations of the universe arming one 'against the other. The † immense structure 'which Rome has erected, has been the work of 'the most consummate wisdom, and of eight hun- 'dred years of care and study; nor can it be de- 'stroyed without the ruin of all who shall seek to 'undermine its foundations. None of them would 'suffer more than you, who possess plenty of gold 'and riches, the chief temptations which induce 'men to war.

'Love

* Quomodo sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, et cætera naturæ mala: ita luxum, vel avaritium dominantium, tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines: sed neque hæc continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur. *Tac.*

† Octingentorum annorum disciplinæ fortunâquâ compages hæc coluit; quæ convelli sine exitio convellentium non potest. Sed vobis maximum discrimen penes quos aurum et opes, præcipuæ bellorum cauræ. Proinde pacem, et urbem, quam victi victoresque eodem jure obtinemus, amate, colite. Moneant vos utriusque fortunæ documenta, ne contumaciam cum pernicie, quam obsequium cum securitate, malitis. *Tac.*

'Love, then, peace: love a city in which the 'conquered enjoy the same prerogatives as the 'conquerors. Let the lessons you may learn from 'each of their fortunes teach you not to prefer 'a pernicious disobedience to a submission in which 'you will be entirely secure." A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Those to whom this speech was directed, were extremely satisfied with it. They expected severity and rigour, but were agreeably surprised at Cerialis's mildness, which, at the same time that it raised their courage, gained their hearts. All Gaul was thereby entirely detached from the rebel party, and the Roman general had no longer any to deal with but Civilis and his Batavians, assisted by a few German nations on both sides of the Rhine.

Civilis attacks the Romans, and surprises their camp.

These persisted in their revolt. Cerialis received letters from Civilis and Classicus, telling him, 'That they knew Vespasian was dead, though 'that event was endeavoured to be kept a secret: 'That Rome and Italy, exhausted by civil wars, 'had neither strength nor forces left: That Mucian 'and Domitian were but empty and despicable 'names: That if Cerialis would take upon him 'the empire of Gaul, they would all keep within 'the boundaries of their respective districts; but 'that, if he chose to fight, they had no objection to 'it, and were likewise ready." Cerialis returned no answer to Civilis and Classicus, but sent the bearer of their letters to Domitian.

Civilis, finding that it was necessary to fight, collected all his forces, and the people who acknowledged him for their chief repaired to him in crowds. Cerialis, whose greatest fault was negligence, did not prevent the junction of those several bodies, which he might have overcame separately with great ease. All he did, when he saw how much the number of the enemy was increased, was to fortify his camp, which till then had remained open.

Civilis

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. Civilis held a council of war, in which opinions were divided. He was for waiting the arrival of the succours expected from beyond the Rhine, the terror of which would, he said, strike a damp on, and entirely discourage, the Roman army. Tutor, on the other hand, said, 'That all delays were 'favourable to the Romans, who would soon re- 'ceive a strong reinforcement: That the four- 'teenth legion had already crossed the sea, and two 'more were ordered from Spain: That those of 'Italy were drawing near; all veteran troops, ex- 'perienced in war. * As to the Germans, added 'he, on whom you depend, they are people in- 'capable of discipline; they follow nothing but 'their own caprice, and are not to be governed in 'any shape. Money alone has power over them, 'and of that the Romans have more than we. 'And, indeed, no man is so very fond of war as 'to prefer it to peace, when he can receive the 'same reward to keep out of danger. Let us 'march on, and attack the enemy. Cerialis has 'hardly any about him but the unfortunate re- 'mains of the Germanic army, engaged in the 'service of the Gauls by a solemn oath. Even 'their late advantage over a handful of raw soldiers 'commanded by Valentinus favours us, by the 'inconsiderate rashness with which it inspires 'their chief. They will † venture another battle, 'in which they will not have to deal with an in- 'experienced adversary, fitter to harangue in an 'assembly

* Nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non juberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere. Pecuniamque ac dona, quibus solis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos. Et neminem adeo in arma promptum, ut non idem pretium quietis, quam periculi malit. *Tac.*

† Ausuros rursus, venturosque in manus, non imperiti adolescentuli, verba et conciones, quam ferrum et arma meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici: quos ubi adspexerint, redituram in animos formidinem, fugam, famemque, ac toties captis precariam vitam. *Tac.*

'assembly than to wield arms; but with Civilis A. R. 821. A. C. 70.
'and Classicus, whose very sight will fill them
'with terror, with thoughts of flight, famine,
'captivity, and a deep sense of their dependence
'on them for their lives or deaths.' Classicus approved of Tutor's advice, to which all agreed, and it was resolved to put it instantly in execution. The Batavians and their allies in good order attacked the Roman camp.

Cerialis was so far from expecting them, that he had not even spent the night in his camp. He was in bed at Treves, when news was brought him that the enemy had surprised the camp, and defeated the Romans. He would not believe it at first, but upbraided the messengers with their cowardice. His eyes soon convinced him that it was too true. Repairing to the camp, he found the lines forced, the horse routed, and the bridge over the Moselle possessed by the enemy. Cerialis, intrepidly brave, rallying his fugitive soldiers, and rushing himself into the thickest danger, backed by his bravest men, repulsed the enemy, took the bridge, and left a strong guard to defend it.

Cerialis retakes his camp, and gains a victory over the enemy.

Then running to the camp, he found the legions which had so basely submitted to the Gauls at Nuys and Bonn, broken and dispersed, their colours thinly guarded, and their very eagles in danger of being taken. Fired with indignation, he upbraided them bitterly with their former infamy. 'It is
'not Flaccus or Vocula, said he, that you abandon
'now; you cannot lay treason to my charge. If
'I deserve blame for any thing, it is for my having
'been weak enough to think better of you than
'you deserve; for having believed your repentance
'sincere, and that you were once more become
'Roman soldiers. I will share the fate of Numi-
'sius and Herennius, that it may be truly said all
'your commanders perished, either by your hands
'or those of the enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or, if

'you

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'you choose not to travel so far, tell Civilis and 'Classicus, that you abandoned your leader, and 'left him on the field of battle. Other legions 'will come, who will not suffer my death to re- 'main unavenged, or your crimes to pass un- 'punished.'

These reproaches were not less true than cutting to those to whom they were addressed, and their officers repeated and echoed them incessantly. They stopped, formed again into cohorts and companies, for they could not extend their front much, bodies of the enemy being intermixed with them, and being likewise embarrassed by the tents and baggage of the camp within the lines of which they were engaged. At last the one-and-twentieth legion, finding a place sufficient to draw up and form entire in, stood firm, sustained the enemy's attack, and at length gained ground upon them. From that moment victory began to declare. In vain did Tutor, Civilis, and Classicus, use their utmost endeavours to spirit up their troops. The Batavians and their allies, victors but a moment before, now turned their backs and fled. Greediness of plunder was the cause of their defeat. Instead of pressing the Romans, whom they had surprised and put in confusion, they thought of nothing but wrangling and quarrelling among themselves for their spoils, and thereby gave them time to recollect themselves and rally. Cerialis had almost ruined the Romans by his negligence, but he made them ample amends by his intrepidity. Following his advantage, he pursued the enemy, and forced and demolished their camp.

Cologne returns to the Roman alliance.

It was unwillingly, as we have seen, that the inhabitants of Cologne entered into the league against the Romans. The moment they were at liberty to follow their own inclinations, they resolved to return to their first engagement; and, to give a convincing proof of their sincerity, they massacred

massacred every German in their city; at the same time sending offers to Cerialis to deliver up to him Civilis's wife and sister, and Classicus's daughter, who had been left with them as pledges of friendship and alliance. They likewise implored his assistance to protect them against an incensed enemy whose vengeance they dreaded. In fact, Civilis had taken the road to Cologne, thinking to find at Tolbiac*, in the territories of that city, a cohort of Cauci and Frisons, his approved friends; but he learned by the way that they had been destroyed by the artifice of the people of Cologne, who had made those Germans drunk, and then set fire to the town after shutting the gates; by which means not one of them escaped. Civilis thereupon changed his route and design; and that the more readily, as he was also informed that the Roman general was making all the haste he could to succour the allies. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Civilis was uneasy too on another account. The fourteenth legion was arrived from Britain, and might, he feared, backed by the fleet which brought them over, attack the sea-coast of the island where the Batavians dwelt. He was soon delivered from this apprehension. Fabius Priscus, who commanded that legion, marched his troops into the territories of the Nervians and Tongrians, who returned to the Roman obedience. The fleet itself was attacked and beaten by the Caninefates, who took and sunk a great number of the ships. Civilis's hopes were elated by that and some other successes which ensued. The same Caninefates put to flight a great multitude of Nervians, who, out of zeal for the Romans, were got together, and wanted to have a share in the war. Classicus defeated a detatchment of horse sent by Cerialis to Civilis's hopes raised by some slight successes.

* A place since made famous by the victory which Clovis, the first Christian king of France, gained there over the Germans, when he invoked the name of the god of Clotilda. Its present name is Zulpich in the duchy of Juliers.

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. Nuys. These * were but small losses to the Romans, but, happening just upon the back of each other, they seemed to diminish the glory of their late victory.

Mucian, being informed of the advantages gained by Cerialis, obliges Domitian not to go beyond Lyons. Tac. Hist. IV. 85.

The news of Cerialis's prosperous exploits reached Domitian and Mucian before they had passed the Alps; and they had a further proof of his success in the person of Valentinus, one of the enemy's commanders, who was presented to them loaded with chains. The haughty Gaul was not humbled by his misfortune, but still expressed in his looks all the intrepidity and resolution of his soul. He was heard, out of mere curiosity to know his temper and turn of mind, and condemned to die. At the very instant of his execution, some person upbraiding him, by way of insult, with the mischief he had done his native country Treves, he answered, that very deed was such a comfort to him as made him die with pleasure.

The good news from Germany gave Mucian a fair opportunity of declaring, as a thought just then arising from the situation of affairs, what in reality he had long since been framing in his mind, and endeavouring to bring about. He said, 'That 'the enemy's forces being, by the protection of the 'gods, quite defeated and dispersed, it was not 'proper for Domitian to intervene, and deprive an'other of the honour he had gained, when the war 'was just at an end: That if the tranquillity of 'the empire, or the safety of Gaul, had been at 'stake, it would certainly have been right for that 'prince to show himself at the head of the armies; 'but that commanders of less consequence were 'sufficient to quell the Caninefates and Batavians: 'That, by staying at Lyons, he would give the 'Gauls and Germans a higher idea of the power 'and

* Quæ modica, sed crebra damna, famam victoriæ nuper partæ lacerabant. *Tac.*

'and greatness of the imperial dignity, above in- A. R. 821. A. C. 70.
'terfering in trivial concerns, but always ready to
'interpose in things of moment.'

Domitian * saw through his artifice; but, to make a merit of his own obedience, it was proper not to seem to perceive it. Accordingly he went to Lyons, but still so bent on his guilty projects, that he despatched from thence private emissaries to sound Cerialis, and ask that general whether he would be disposed to give up the command of his army to the prince. What Domitian's view could be, whether to make war against his father, or to form a party against his brother, is more than we can say; for Cerialis returned no answer to his proposals, but called them childish fancies. Domitian's seditious projects.

Domitian, perceiving that his youth was slighted by men of riper years, resolved to dissemble. He even renounced the exercise of the prerogatives due to his rank, of which he had been always very tenacious until then. He affected retirement, as if he had been fond of modesty and simplicity, and pretended a taste for learning, and especially poetry, for which he had never before had the least relish, and which he afterwards held in great contempt, when at liberty to throw off the mask. He wrote some verses, for which he received the fulsome applause not only of poets of his time, but likewise of the grave and judicious Quintilian. Under these specious appearances, Domitian endeavoured to conceal the ambition with which he was devoured, and to avoid giving umbrage to his brother, whose mild, open, and sweet temper was, in his opinion, downright hypocrisy. So far was he from attaining any of Titus's virtues, that he would not allow they existed. His feigned modesty. Suet Domit. 2 Quintil. x.

2 The

* Intelligebantur artes: sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Signal victory gained by Cerialis over the Batavians near Vetera. Tac. Hist. V. 14.

The conquest of Treves did not put an end to the war. Civilis had recruited his troops beyond the Rhine, and was returned with a numerous army, and encamped at Vetera; a post in itself advantageous, and seemingly calculated to rouse the courage of his Batavians, by reminding them of their former success there. Cerialis followed him thither with an additional reinforcement of three legions, and several bodies of auxiliary troops, both horse and foot, which had long been sent for, and, on the news of his victory, had made all the haste they could to join him.

Neither of the two commanders were fond of temporising. They would have proceeded to action at once, if the nature of the ground between them would have permitted it. The two armies were separated by a plain naturally wet and boggy, and at that time overflowed by the waters of the Rhine forced that way by a bank Civilis had thrown up, which obstructed the course of the river. Such a field of battle was very disadvantageous to the Roman soldiers, heavily armed, and every moment in danger of being out of their depths, and forced to swim. Whereas the Germans, accustomed from their infancy to cross rivers boldly, had a further great advantage in the lightness of their armour and the superior stature of their bodies.

The Batavians, sensible of their advantage, provoked and harassed the Romans without ceasing, till at last a battle ensued, rather through the forwardness of the soldiers than by the command of their officers. The most impatient of the Romans advanced against the enemy, who bade them defiance, and soon found themselves in a dreadful situation, falling into holes deeper than man and horse were high. The Germans, who knew the shallow places, kept to them, and, instead of facing their enemies, often wheeled about and attacked them in their flank or rear. The Romans, not

not used to that way of fighting, were quite at a loss amidst the streams and torrents of water which dispersed and carried them up and down, like boats tossed about by rough waves: whether they lost footing, or found some place to stand pretty firm on, the wounded were mixed and confounded with those that were not hurt, good swimmers with those that could not swim at all; one caught hold of another, and, instead of helping, only prevented each other's defending himself. The slaughter was, however, not so great as might have been expected from such disorder and confusion, because the Batavians retired back to their camp, not daring to pursue the Romans beyond the extent of the inundation. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

The event of this engagement * induced the two commanders, for contrary reasons, to hasten on a general battle. Civilis was desirous to push his fortune while it was favourable, and Cerialis longed to retrieve his honour. The Batavians were imboldened by success, and the Romans urged by shame. One side spent the night in shouts of joy and songs of triumph, the other in meditating and resolving revenge.

On the next day, the two armies drew up for battle. Cerialis placed his auxiliary cohorts in the first line, and his horse in the wings; the legions formed the second line; and he selected a chosen body of reserve for emergent occasions. Civilis did not extend his front, but drew his troops up in pointed battalions, wedge-like; the Batavians and Cugernians on the right, and the succours from Germany on the left, flanked by the river.

Both generals went through their ranks before the battle began, exhorting and encouraging their

* Ejus prælii eventus, utrumque ducem, diversis animi motibus, ad maturandum summæ rei discrimen erexit. Civilis instare fortunæ; Cerialis abolere ignominiam. Germani prosperis feroces; Romanos pudor excitaverat. Nox apud barbaros cantu aut clamore; nostris per iram et minas acta. *Tac.*

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. soldiers with all the persuasion they were masters of. The sight of Vetera was a powerful inducement to the remains of the Germanic legions, and Cerialis represented to them strongly how much it behoved them to recover a camp that belonged to them, a place of which they had been so long possessed. Civilis spirited up his men with the same motives represented in a different light. 'This field of 'battle,' said he to them, 'has already been witness 'to your valour. You are posted on the monu- 'ments of your glory, and now tread on the bones 'and ashes of the legions which you destroyed. 'Your enemies are in a very different situation. 'Wherever they turn their eyes, every thing must 'remind them of their shame and captivity, and 'fill them with a thousand dreadful thoughts. 'Let not your want of success at Treves dishear- 'ten or dismay you. It was victory which hurt 'the Germans. Their too great hurry to enjoy 'the fruits of it, to plunder those they had defeat- 'ed, was what wrested it from them when ob- 'tained.' But how many prosperities have since 'compensated for that accident? Every measure that 'human prudence can dictate has been taken. 'You fight in a marshy plain, of which you know 'the good and bad parts, and have thereby an in- 'finite advantage over the enemy. The Rhine, 'and the gods of Germany, are before your eyes. 'Fight, fight under their auspices, and remember 'your wives, your mothers, and your children. 'This day will rival the glory of your ancestors, 'or heap eternal ignominy on your heads.'

The barbarians applauded his speech, in their usual manner, with dances, and a frightful clashing of their arms; and the fight began, not hand to hand at first, but at some distance, by throwing stones, balls of lead and iron, and darts of every kind. At last the Batavians succeeded in their attempt to entice the Romans into the marshes: the battle

battle was there renewed in the midst of the water, and the first line of the Romans broke. The legions were obliged to second the auxiliary cohorts, no longer able to keep their ground. They stood firm, and stopped the enemy: but what decided the victory, was a motion which Cerialis made in consequence of the intelligence he received from a Batavian deserter, who informed him of a safe and ill-guarded pass at the extremity of the marshes on the left, and offered, if the Romans would give him a few horse, to go round and attack the enemy's rear. Cerialis detached two regiments of horse, who, conducted by the Batavian, wheeled round the enemy's right wing, and attacked them behind. The legions, hearing their shouts, attacked in front with redoubled ardour. The Germans, unable to sustain both attacks, were broken, and fled towards the Rhine. This battle would have ended the war, if the Roman fleet on the Rhine had been diligent to cut off those that fled. Even the horse did not pursue them far, because a heavy shower of rain fell, and night was drawing on. The conquered Germans made a slow retreat, and their army was rather dispersed than destroyed. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

This victory was, however, of importance to the Romans. Civilis abandoned all the country he had possessed himself of beyond the island of the Batavians, and shut himself up in that his native country, but not till after he had thrown down and demolished the dike which Drusus had formerly made at the place where the Rhine divides into two unequal streams. The main current runs towards the Vahal; and the right arm, which retains the name of Rhine, is the least considerable. Drusus, whose views it suited to have plenty of water in that right arm, which he joined to the Issel by a canal that still subsists, had formed his dike so as to turn the stream towards the right. Civilis, having different Civilis demolishes Drusus's dike.

A. R. 621. A. C. 70. views, demolished it, and reaped two advantages thereby. By enlarging the Vahal, he strengthened the barrier between him and the Romans; and the arm by which his island was bounded to the north, being almost dried up, opened him a freer communication with Germany. Thither he passed, with Tutor Classicus, and an hundred and thirteen senators of Treves. The money which they distributed among the Germans, pity for their distress, and the natural genius of those fierce nations, which made them fond of war and all its dangers, worked so strongly in favour of Civilis, as to procure him a powerful reinforcement.

Bold but unsuccessful attempt of Civilis. Whilst he was busied in collecting his new forces, Cerialis took advantage of his absence, and attacked the island of the Batavians, where he made himself master of four important posts, Arenacum * (now Aert), Batavodurum (Wick-Dursted), Grinnes (Kesteren), and Vada, the situation of which is not exactly known; and left considerable bodies of troops to secure the possession of these places, which were the keys of the country.

Civilis, with the help of his new German forces, thought himself strong enough to attack these four posts in one day, and at the same time. He did not expect to succeed equally well every where, but hoped, by venturing boldly, at least not to miscarry in all; and as he knew Cerialis to be very enterprising, and far from prudent, he thought it might not be impossible to surprise him unawares, and take him prisoner, as he should be going from one of these places to another, on hearing that they were all attacked. Civilis failed in each of his attempts, and was even in danger of being taken himself whilst he was endeavouring to rally some of his men who fled. However,

* Geographers have not fixed the exact situation of these places, for which I am indebted to Mr D'Anville, whom I am always glad to consult, and find ample satisfaction in so doing.

However, he killed a great many of the Romans, and escaped by swimming over the Rhine. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

The Roman fleet, though sent for by Cerialis, again failed when wanted to complete the victory. Most of the men belonging to the ships had been sent on different occasions, some one way, some another, and the few that remained on board were afraid to venture. Cerialis was chiefly to blame. He never knew what it was to take his measures beforehand *, but waited to the last moment to give orders, difficult to be executed for want of proper preparations. His success seemed to encourage him in that negligence; and as fortune favoured him, even when not assisted by counsel and prudent foresight, he indulged himself in his security, and took no care to keep his troops alert and well disciplined. In consequence of this rash security, he was very near falling into the enemy's hands soon after the affair I have been speaking of; and though he escaped captivity, he suffered all the shame of being unguardedly surprised.

Cerialis's negligence.

Returning by water from visiting the camps at Nuys and Bonn, which were getting ready for the legions that were to be quartered there during the winter, with an escort which observed no manner of discipline, the Germans observed his negligence, and resolved to try to carry off so careless a general. To this end they chose a dark night, and, falling down the river, suddenly attacked the unguarded Romans, who made a very bad defence. The enemy took several ships, and among them the admiral's, in which they expected to find Cerialis. But that voluptuous general, who, even in the midst of war, could not give up his pleasures, and had at that very time an intrigue with an Ubian lady called Claudia

He is very near being taken by the enemy.

* [illegible] Cerialis parum temporis ad exsequenda imperia dabat. [illegible] militis, sed eventu clarus. Aderat fortuna, etiam ube ar- [illegible] Hinc ipsi exercituique minor cura disciplinæ.—

A.R. 821. A. C. 70. Claudia Sacrata, lay ashore that night. They went in quest of him, and it was with difficulty that he escaped almost naked. The soldiers on guard laid the blame of their being so surprised on their general, saying that their orders were to be silent, and not to disturb Cerialis's repose; and that being forbidden to call out to each other as usual, that forced silence had lulled them asleep. The victorious Germans returned back in the vessels they had taken, and made Velleda a present of the admiral's ship, which they sent up the river Lippe.

Civilis's last attempt. This advantage was of no great consequence in the main, and the affairs of the Germans in general went badly on. Civilis attempted, as his last resource, to fight the Romans on the water at the mouth of the Maese; but, his project failing, he grew quite disheartened, gave up an unfortunate enterprise, and retired beyond the Rhine. Cerialis laid waste the island of the Batavians, and committed all manner of hostilities, sparing, however, as generals often do out of policy, the lands belonging to Civilis.

Dangers to which the Romans are exposed in the island of the Batavians. In the mean time the season of the year advanced, and the great rains that fell, swelling the river, overflowed the island, and made it one continued lake. The Romans, who had not foreseen this inconvenience, were greatly embarrassed. Their fleet was at a distance from them; they had no provisions, and could not possibly preserve their camp from inundation in an open flat country, where not a hill or rising ground was to be found. They must all have perished, if the Germans had attacked them then, as they once thought to do. Civilis afterwards made a merit of it to the Romans, pretending he had dissuaded his countrymen from that design.

Submission of Civilis, and end of the war. Perhaps he said true, for even then he thought of making his peace. Cerialis invited him so to do by secret messages, promising to pardon him and his nation;

nation; and at the same time, as politic as he was brave, he strove to detach the Germans beyond the Rhine from the party of the rebels. He employed proper emissaries to represent to Velleda, 'That instead of promoting a war, ever unfortunate to her 'country, it was easy for her to gain the friendship 'of the Roman people: That as things were then 'circumstanced, Civilis, a wanderer and a fugitive, could not but be a burden to whoever should 'give him shelter: That the Germans had already 'sufficiently incensed the Romans by passing the 'Rhine so often as they had done, and ought to 'fear their patience would be tired out.' These remonstrances, intermixed with threats and promises, had the desired effect on Velleda; and the Germans, susceptible of every impression that pretended prophetess thought fit to give them, began to waver. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

The Batavians, finding themselves in danger of being abandoned by their allies, began likewise to think of peace. 'Why,' said they to one another, 'should we carry our misfortunes to extremes? 'Can a single nation break the yoke that is laid 'on all mankind? We suffer less under it than 'any other people. Our neighbours pay heavy 'tributes, whilst all that is required of us is our 'military service, and the exercise of our valour. 'That is the nearest state to liberty. And if we 'must have masters, we had better obey Roman 'emperors than German women.'

So the multitude thought. Their chiefs went further, and imputed all their misfortunes to Civilis, whose pernicious rage, said they, had exposed their whole nation, to gratify his private resentment, and secure his own person. 'Why should we ob'stinately persist in carrying on a war necessary 'only to one, and fatal to all besides? We are un'done if we do not now open our eyes, and prove

'our

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. 'our repentance sincere by giving up the guilty 'cause of all we suffer.'

Civilis, apprised of the danger he was in, and terrified at the thoughts of it, resolved to anticipate any steps that might be taken to hurt him. He was * tired of struggling against fortune; and, as Tacitus observes, desire of life will often make the most stubborn bend. Accordingly he requested an interview with Cerialis, but accompanied with extraordinary precautions for his safety. A bridge was broken down over a river, the name † of which has been corrupted in Tacitus, but most probably was one of the branches of the Rhine. The two chiefs advanced to the opposite ends of the broken bridge, and Civilis made a speech of which we have only the beginning left in Tacitus, that excellent historian failing us here at once. By what is left of it, we find that Civilis trumped up the false and wretched excuse of having taken arms for Vespasian's cause, and probably concluded with imploring the victor's clemency. The Roman general received Civilis's submission, and it is reasonable to suppose that the other chiefs of the rebels followed the example of him who held the first rank among them. Peace was restored to those countries, and we shall see no more troubles break out there for a long time.

Time when Jerusalem was taken. The year in which all these transactions happened, was likewise that in which Titus took Jerusalem. This would therefore be the proper place to give an account of that great event. But as the war of the Jews is in a manner a detached piece of history, and as I imagine my readers may be impatient to know the particulars of Vespasian's government, of which we have hitherto said but little, I shall

* Super tædium malorum, etiam spe vitia, quæ plerumque magnos animos infringit. *Tac.*

† Nabalia.

I shall now relate what we know of this last, and defer speaking of the Jewish war till I have done with Vespasian's reign. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

SECT. III.

HITHERTO Tacitus has been my guide, and with his assistance I have been able to range events under the years in which they happened; so that wherever I have deviated from chronological order, I have done it purposely, in order to connect things which to me seemed more important than a scrupulous observation of time. Losing Tacitus, I am obliged to alter my method. From the period where his writings end, we have, strictly speaking, no historian of the empire, but only biographers, and those in general more studious to describe the temper, disposition, and manners of the prince whose life they write, than careful to fix the dates of the events which they relate. I am therefore under a necessity of conforming to what monuments we have remaining, and of leaving the generality of facts without date. The best thing I can do, in order to be as clear as possible, is, with M. de Tillemont's assistance, to prefix to each reign a kind of sketch or annals of the years and names of the consuls, and of such events as we are pretty certain of the dates of; after which, the history of the reign will follow, as full and extensive as the scanty materials I am now reduced to will suffer it to be.

ANNALS OF VESPASIAN's REIGN.

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS II.
TITUS CÆSAR. A. R. 821. A. C. 70.

Vespasian sets sail from Alexandria in a trading vessel, whilst Titus carries on the siege of Jerusalem.

He

A. R. 821. A. C. 70. He arrives at Rhodes, where he finds some gallies, with which he continues his voyage, coasting Asia Minor, and visiting the cities in his way, where he is received with great and unfeigned joy. From Ionia he proceeds to Greece, and arrives at Corcyra, where he embarks for Brundusium: he arrives happily there, and from thence goes by land to Rome. He was not yet arrived there on the twenty-first of June, the day on which Helvidius Priscus laid the first stone of the capitol.

The city of Jerusalem is taken the seventh of September, and Titus enters it the next day.

Vespasian takes the title and functions of censor, which he kept till his death.

A. R. 822. A. C. 71. VESPASIAN AUGUSTUS III.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

Nerva, Vespasian's colleague in the consulship, is thought to be the same who was emperor after Domitian.

Vespasian associates his son Titus in the power of tribune, and triumphs jointly with him for the victory over the Jews in Jerusalem.

He closes the temple of Janus; Orosius reckons this the sixth time of its being shut. Vespasian erects a magnificent temple to Peace.

A. R. 823. A. C. 72. VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS IV.
TITUS CÆSAR II.

Vespasian suspects Antiochus, king of Commagena, of holding a correspondence with the Parthians, with a view to induce them to revolt. Cæsennius Pætus, governor of Syria, attacks Antiochus, and strips him of his dominions. Commagena is made a Roman province, though Antiochus had two sons, Epiphanius and Callinichus, who, as well as their father, after various adventures,

tures, retired to Rome, where they lived in an honourable but private station. A. R. 823. A. C. 72.

This was the last period of the power of the Seleucidæ, if it be true, as is thought with great probability, that the kings of Commagena were descended from the ancient kings of Syria. See Roman History, Vol. XI.

Vologeses, king of Parthia, molested by the Alans, a Scythian people, who over-ran all Media and Armenia, desires, in virtue of the alliance between the two empires, succours from Vespasian, and one of his sons to command the troops he shall send him. Domitian solicits strongly to have that command. Vespasian refuses to send the succours desired by Vologeses, declaring that he will not interfere in other people's affairs.

Domitianus Cæsar II.
Valerius Messalinus. A. R. 824. A. C. 73.

Domitian had already been consul once, but only as substitute. The consulship he held this year is the only one his father ever thought proper to give him, nor did he grant him this but at the earnest request of Titus.

In consequence of some disturbances in Greece, Vespasian deprives that country of the liberty Nero had restored to it, saying, the Greeks had forgotten how to be free. He subjected them again to tributes and the government of a Roman magistrate.

He treats Rhodes, Samos, and the neighbouring islands, in the same manner, and makes a province of them, called the Cyclades, or island province, the metropolis of which was Rhodes.

Hilly * or mountainous Cilicia, which seems to have

* I follow the epitomiser of Aurelius Victor, who says Tracheam Ciliciam. This reading is approved by many of the learned, is agreeable to history, and shows the error of the several editors of Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, and Eusebius's Chronology, who say Thraciam, Ciliciam.

A. R. 824. A. C. 73. have been a part of the dominion of Antiochus of Commagena, is likewise made a Roman province. However, Vespasian granted a small district of it, with the title of king, to Alexander son of Tigranes, and son-in-law to Antiochus. Tigranes, father of this Alexander, is the same who was for a short time king of Armenia under Nero.

It was probably at this time that Vespasian sent troops into Cappadocia, and attached the government of that province to the rank of consul, instead of the order of knights. We shall hereafter see how Titus, in the year of Christ 71, sent the twelfth legion into the small district of Melitenum, bordering on, or being part of, Cappadocia.

A. R. 825. A. C. 74.

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS V.
TITUS CÆSAR III.

Vespasian, who had made his son Titus his colleague in the censorship, celebrates with him the ceremony of closing the lustrum and numbering of the Roman citizens. Censorinus says this was the last time they were numbered.

I know not whether Pliny ought to be entirely credited in what he says of the numerous instances of longevity remarked on this occasion. He reckons in the region of Italy only, that is to say, in the country between the Apennine mountains and the Po, eighty-one men and women upwards of an hundred years old; fifty-four of them somewhat turned of an hundred, fourteen an hundred and ten, two an hundred and twenty-five, four an hundred and thirty, four an hundred and thirty-five or seven, and three an hundred and forty. I confess I should be apt to suspect that most of those people made themselves older than they really were, either out of a desire of being thought extraordinary personages, or to enjoy the privilege of old age, of telling wonderful stories of what they had seen.

VESPA-

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS VI. A.R. 826.
TITUS CÆSAR IV. A.C. 73

Dedication of the temple of Peace.

Vespasian places in it the golden vessels belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, and a great number of the finest performances of the best painters and sculptors; by which means this temple alone contained all the wonders which before attracted the curiosity of travellers, when scattered up and down in different places.

Nero's colossus, erected by his order at the entrance of the golden palace, is dedicated to the sun by Vespasian.

Vespasian orders the circuit and extent of the city of Rome to be measured. Pliny has recorded the measures; but the learned are divided concerning the numbers mentioned in the several editions of that author. Some say they are erroneous, and others that they are right. I leave it to them to settle.

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS VII. A.R. 827.
TITUS CÆSAR VI. A.C. 76.

Three cities destroyed in the island of Cyprus by an earthquake.

VESPASIAN AUGUSTUS III. A.R. 828.
TITUS CÆSAR VI. A.C. 77.

So violent a plague rages, that ten thousand are said to have died at Rome in one day.

I. CEIONIUS COMMODUS. A.R. 829.
D. NOVIUS PRISCUS. A.C. 78.

The first of these consuls was probably great grandfather to L. Verus, Marcus Aurelius's colleague.

Agricola sent to Britain, where he commands during seven years.

A. R. 830.
A. C. 79.

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS IX.
TITUS CÆSAR VII.

Julius Sabinus and Epponina discovered in their retreat, carried to Rome, and put to death.

Aliænus Cecina, who, after contributing greatly towards setting Vitellius on the throne, betrayed him, as before related; and Marcellus, who seems to have been that notorious and most infamous informer Eprius Marcellus, so often mentioned, both loaded with favours by Vespasian, conspire against him. Titus causes Cecina to be stabbed.

Marcellus, condemned by the senate, cuts his own throat with a razor.

Vespasian dies the twenty-fourth of June.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

VESPASIAN.

VESPASIAN's extraordinary good fortune in the manner of his accession to the empire. Every order of the state has beforehand the highest opinion of him. He is received in Italy and Rome with universal joy. Domitian trembles when he appears before him, and meets with a disagreeable reception. Vespasian sets about reforming the state. His behaviour towards the soldiery firm and steady. Restores the senate and the order of knights to their ancient lustre. His care to preserve equality among all the citizens. He puts an end to a multitude of lawsuits with which the tribunals were overburdened. He corrects the luxury of the Roman tables by his own example. Regulations to restrain immorality. Vespasian's love of simplicity. His mildness and moderation. Expulsion of the philosophers. Banishment and death of Helvidius Priscus. Vespasian repairs the ruins of Rome, and embellishes that city. He patronizes learning and the arts. Vespasian thought covetous. It must be owned that he loved money. Considerations which alleviate his blame. Vespasian's conduct in private life. Mucian's death. His works. Adventures and death of Sabinus and Epponina. Conspiracy of Cecina and Marcellus. Vespasian's death.

Vespasian's extraordinary good fortune in the manner of his accession to the empire.

OF all the princes that ever arrived at supreme power by dint of arms, and without any hereditary claim, none ever ascended the throne more fortunately, nor, in all respects, more honourably, than Vespasian. He was raised to the highest dignity, and proclaimed emperor, without the least intrigue or effort on his side, and almost without contributing towards his own elevation, any farther than by consenting to the earnest desires of those who wished it. He had enemies to subdue; but he conquered them without being put to the necessity of drawing his own sword. Generals and armies who scarcely knew him espoused his cause, and fought for him with the greatest zeal and most happy success. Every obstacle being removed, he repaired to Italy, quietly to take possession of that country, and of Rome, where he was expected and wished for by every order of the state, as the redeemer and restorer of the empire.

Every order of the state has beforehand the highest opinion of him. Joseph. de B. Jud. VII. 22.

The senate, studying the general good, and thoroughly sensible how much the republic had suffered by the violent and repeated shocks it had sustained in the late revolutions, beheld, with the utmost veneration, a wise prince, who * would make no other use of his high pre-eminence but such as should be advantageous to those whose interest, as well as duty, it was to obey him. The people, harassed and worn out by all the evils attending civil wars, justly hoped to see peace and plenty restored by Vespasian's care and goodness. The troops were best acquainted with his martial virtues. The contrast they formed between him and the cowardly and unskilful emperors whose orders they had of late obeyed, gave them the highest reason to hope that they should soon recover their ancient glory by his means.

It

* Ὧ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς μόνην ἐπίσαντο τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίαν ἀγομένην. *Jos.*

It was therefore not flattery, nor duty alone, but real and sincere inclination, which induced an infinite number of people of every age, sex, and condition, to flock to Brundusium, when it was known that he was ready to arrive there. Mucian and the chief of the senate were ready to receive him there, and Vespasian confirmed the high opinion they had before conceived of him, by his affability and engaging sweetness; no ways affecting the show and pomp of an emperor, but behaving rather with the modesty of a private man, or at least with all the moderation of a prince who remembered that he was not born to empire, and that those who now paid homage to him had long been his equals.

He is received in Italy and Rome with universal joy. Dio.

All the road from Brundusium to Rome was bordered by an innumerable multitude of people, who saluted him with the most pleasing and most glorious acclamations; and that metropolis, when he drew near it, was almost deserted, through the extraordinary eagerness of all its inhabitants to go out and meet him whom they styled the guardian and benefactor of the republic, the only emperor worthy to reign in Rome. It was with great difficulty that he reached his palace through the crowds of that immense multitude; and, whilst he offered up sacrifices of thanksgiving there, the whole city feasted and rejoiced. Each accompanied his libations to the gods with prayers for the welfare of the prince, beseeching them long to preserve Vespasian for the public good, and never to let the empire depart from his family.

Jos.

Domitian was the only one that did not sincerely partake in the universal joy. His mind was too much disturbed by reflections on his past conduct, and the guilty projects he was meditating even then. He had left Gaul in order to be in Italy when his father arrived. Vespasian saw him at Beneventum, and received him with a stern look,

Domitian trembles when he appears before him, and meets with a disagreeable reception. Dio.

whilst he bestowed every mark of benevolence and affection on all besides.

Vespasian sets about reforming the state. Suet. Vesp. 21. Dio. Plin. Ep. III. 5.

When this wise prince took the reins of government in hand, he answered the utmost hopes that had been conceived of him. He applied to business with indefatigable assiduity, thoroughly convinced that the life of an emperor is a life of care. The welfare of the state became his only study; he rose very early every day, and the first thing he did always was to allot several hours for the despatch of business. By this assiduous application, he restored every part of the state to the order which the convulsions of the civil wars had robbed it of.

Suet Vesp. 8.

His behaviour towards the soldiery firm and steady.

We have seen to what height of excess the troops had been used to carry their licentiousness. Order is not to be restored in a moment; the spirit of sedition ferments a long time before it subsides. The conquerors were elated with their victory; the conquered still inwardly resented their defeat. Vespasian was far from deviating, when emperor, from that firm resolution with which he had always behaved to the soldiers. He broke the most noisy and untractable of the conquered, and forced the rest to a strict observance of military discipline; and as to the troops by whose means he had been raised to the empire, far from flattering them by the least unmanly condescension, he made them wait a great while for the recompence they were in a manner entitled to.

He restores the senate and order of knights to their ancient lustre. Suet. 9.

He restored the senate and the order of knights to their pristine splendour. Both these orders had been diminished in point of number by the cruelty of preceding princes, and degraded from their former dignity by the admission of many unworthy members. Vespasian, as censor, reviewed and drew up a new list of the senators and knights. He expelled with ignominy all such as had disgraced themselves by bad actions, and put in their stead the best and most worthy men he could find in Italy and the provinces.

provinces. Scarcely did he find two hundred senatorial families on his accession to the throne. He increased them to a thousand. He likewise created new patricians, of whom the four that we have any knowledge of do great honour to his choice: these were the celebrated Agricola, the father of Trajan; Arrius Antoninus, grandfather by the mother's side to the emperor Antoninus; and Annius Verus, grandfather of Marcus Aurelius by the father's side. Tac. Agr. 9. Plin. Pan. 9. Jul. Capit.

Vespasian was far, however, from being disposed, by restoring the senators to the dignity due to their rank, to encourage in them a tyrannical haughtiness prejudicial to the common liberty of the subject. He was for having every one enjoy his rights, as appeared by his decision of a quarrel between a senator and a knight: the affair being brought before him,* 'It is not lawful', said he, 'to insult a 'senator with opprobrious language; but every one 'has a natural and a lawful right to return insult 'for insult.' His care to preserve equality among all the citizens. Suet.

Suits at law were grown numberless during the late troubles. The course of justice having been impeded, many old suits were still depending, and an infinity of new ones had been commenced on account of the violence and oppression inseparable from civil wars. To bring them to a speedy end, Vespasian erected a special tribunal, with power to order restitution to be made, of whatever had been unjustly taken or usurped during the war, and to judge summarily all matters depending before the Centumviri. The new judges did their duty so well, that an infinite number of suits, likely to last longer than the lives of the parties, were ended in a very short time, and the ordinary tribunals had only their usual business to proceed on. During He puts an end to a multitude of lawsuits with which the tribunals were overburdened.

* Non opertere maledici senatoribus, remaledici civile fasque esse. *Suet.*

his whole reign, Vespasian took particular care to have justice well and duly administered, to which end he often assisted personally.

He corrects the luxury of the Roman tables by his own example. Tac. An. III. 55.

The luxury of the Roman tables was an inveterate evil, and stronger than all the laws. Vespasian proscribed it by his own example; for private men were ashamed to give into mad and extravagant expenses, whilst their emperor declared himself a lover of plainness and simplicity. The reformation he brought about in this respect was of some duration, for it still subsisted in the time of Trajan, when Tacitus wrote.

Regulations to restrain immorality.

In matters of immorality and unseemly manners, we cannot expect to find in a Pagan prince those high and pure ideas which Christianity inculcates. Vespasian was not chaste himself, as I before observed, though he always showed a great dislike to every excess. He revived the law passed under Claudius, whereby free women who prostituted themselves to slaves were condemned to servitude. As nothing is more apt to lead youth into debauchery than their being able to borrow money with ease, he enforced the old laws against usurers who lent to young men of quality under age, and forbade their being ever able to sue for payment, even after their debtors should become their own masters, and be in possession of their estate, by the death of their parents.

Suet. Vesp. 11.

Suet. Vesp. 8.

Whatever savoured of effeminacy displeased him so highly, that being one day accosted by a young man finely perfumed, who came to thank him for a military preferment lately granted him; 'I had 'rather you smelt of garlic,' said Vespasian to him, with a stern and contemptuous look; and immediately he cancelled his commission.

Vespasian's love of simplicity. His mildness and moderation. Suet. Vesp. 12—15. Dio.

His mildness, moderation, and love of simplicity, never varied from the beginning of his reign to the time of his death. He never concealed the lowness of his birth, but seemed rather to affect to show

show it by his attachment to some family-pieces of furniture, and the care he took to keep up a small country-house in the condition his grandfather had left it. Some flatterers wanted to make out a pedigree for him, wherein they made him descend from the first founders of Rieti, his native country, and particularly from a companion of Hercules, whose monument was shown on the road cross the country of the Sabines. Vespasian laughed at them, and that was the only reward their servile adulation met with.

He was so far from studying outward pomp and show, that the day he triumphed over the Jews, he could not dissemble how much he was fatigued and tired with the ceremony, and frankly said, '* I 'am justly punished. It is a fine thing indeed to 'want to triumph at my age, as if it was an 'honour due to my ancestors, or that I could ever 'have had reason to expect.'

Some may perhaps be apt to think he carried his disregard for all outward appearances too far, when, receiving a letter from Vologeses with this pompous superscription, Arsaces King of Kings to Flavius Vespasian, he answered in the same style, and, without taking any title himself, returned the other that of *king of kings*. Such a thing would now-a-days be thought derogatory to the dignity of imperial majesty; but Vespasian, solely bent on what was real and solid, held all vain and idle ceremony in contempt.

He was quite familiar with the senators, inviting them to his table, and frequently going to dine with them. † In short, he was emperor only in his extraordinary

* Merito se plecti, qui triumphum, quasi aut debitum majoribus suis, aut speratum unquam sibi, tam inepte senex concupisset. *Suet.*

† Τὸ, τε συμπαν τῇ προνοιᾳ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο. Εἰ, δὲ δὴ τ' ἄλλα παντα κοινος καὶ ἰσοδίαιτος σφισιν ἦν. *Dio.*

extraordinary care of the public welfare, behaving in other respects like a private man.

He expressed such regard and deference for the body of the senate as had never been known since the days of Augustus. He constantly attended all their meetings, consulted them on every occasion, and if he was at any time prevented from going to the senate-house by illness, or from speaking there himself by over-great fatigue, it was not a questor that he made use of, but one or other of his sons was his representative and speaker.

Nothing seems to me more truly estimable in all Vespasian's government than the perfect harmony
Suet. Tit. 5. which always reigned between him and his son Titus. Not that there were wanting men fond of discord, who endeavoured to disturb that good understanding; for, on Titus's taking Jerusalem, the soldiers, transported with joy, proclaimed him *Imperator*, or victorious general, and, when he was preparing to return to Italy, begged, prayed, and even menaced, to make him either stay with them, or take them with him; whence some maliciously inferred that Titus had his private views, and intended to set up an empire in the West, independently of his father. Others found fault with his having worn the diadem when he performed the ceremony of consecrating the ox Apis in Egypt; a thing prescribed by the rites and ceremonies used on that occasion. Titus was informed of the reports that were spread against him, and resolved to prevent their effect by his speedy return. Accordingly he made such haste, that he arrived in Italy, and presented himself before his father, much sooner than it was imagined he possibly could; and, fully to silence all invidious tongues, 'Here I am, father,' said he, accosting Vespasian; 'I am returned'.

It is doubtful whether these suspicions had made any impression on Vespasian himself. Certain it is, that his behaviour never showed it. He shared

shared the honour of triumph with his son, made him his associate in the censorship, and the power of tribune, and his colleague in seven consulships. Titus was in a manner his first minister. He wrote letters, and drew up edicts in his father's name; and, in short, had the post of pretorian prefect, or commander-in-chief of the emperor's guard; consequently Vespasian trusted his son and successor with his person and life. It is difficult to say on which of the two such high trust and confidence reflect most honour.

Vespasian's magnanimous confidence in all over whom he reigned was the same in proportion. Depending on their affection, because he knew he deserved it, he abolished, even while the war still subsisted, the odious custom of searching and examining such as were admitted to the emperor's presence. His palace-gates were always open, and Dion Cassius says positively that they were not guarded; meaning, without doubt, that the guards never refused entrance to any.

None of those fatal umbrages and distrusts, to which so many innocent men had been sacrificed under the preceding emperors, ever entered into Vespasian's thoughts; so far from it, that when his friends begged him to be on his guard against Metius Pomposianus, born, said they, under planets which foretold that he would be emperor; instead of endeavouring to remove him, he promoted him to the consulship, saying, 'If ever he is emperor, 'he will remember that I have been his benefac-'tor.' And yet, which is pretty singular, Vespasian had such faith in his own horoscope, and that of his sons, (some may think it takes off from the generosity of his behaviour on this occasion,) that he declared to the whole senate, he was sure his children would succeed him, or that none would. It is not, however, the less certain, that he was averse to shedding blood. The inhuman sights of gladiators, though

Suet. Vesp. 15.

Suet. Vesp. 15. and Dio.

though so long authorized by custom, appeared to him what they really were, and gave him no manner of pleasure. Much more was he cautious of spilling illustrious blood; and if there be some instances of persons undeservedly put to death under his reign, either they must be imputed to Mucian, who governed with a despotic power for some time in his absence, or Vespasian's consent was extorted by misrepresentation of facts. Even criminals who merited death drew tears from his eyes.

He was not vindictive, nor did the remembrance of past injuries alter the sweetness of his temper. He married the daughter of his enemy Vitellius nobly, and gave her a considerable dowry. A wretch of a freedman belonging to Nero had formerly insulted him in the grossest manner. The impatience with which Vespasian bore the shame that reflected on the whole empire, from Nero's turning public actor and musician, having brought him, as I before said, into disgrace, and being forbid to appear at court, he asked Phœbus, who performed the functions of gentleman-usher to Nero, whither he should retire? where he should go? To which the insolent freedman replying with a contemptuous sneer, bid him *go to the gallows.* Phœbus was in great pain when Vespasian was made emperor; he cringed, fawned, and humbly begged forgiveness. All the revenge Vespasian took was to retort his own words, and bid him *go to the gallows.*

We may judge how much he would bear from his friends, by letting such insolence pass unpunished in a slave. Mucian tried his patience more severely, and, pretending that he had made him emperor, treated him almost as his equal. Vespasian bore it, and never reproved him, except in private, or before their mutual friends, still continuing to give him in public all possible marks of regard and esteem. He promoted him to honours and dignities,

dignities, and made him a second and a third time consul.

He took no offence at a joke, but would answer in the same strain. If pasquils were posted up against him, for that was the custom in Rome even in those days, he posted up others in answer, defending himself with the same weapons with which he was attacked; less jealous of his high rank than studious to avoid even the appearance of haughtiness.

Expulsion of the philosophers.

The philosophers were the only people who forced him to treat them with more severity than he would have wished. The Stoics of late had gained ground prodigiously in Rome; and the proud maxims of that sect made such an impression on weak and hot minds, as inspired many with notions of liberty bordering on rebellion, and with an absolute aversion to monarchy. The tyranny of the late Cæsars had afforded them an ample field for declamation; and, without considering how much the circumstances of things were altered, they still persisted in abusing the government, and strove to undermine that authority which they ought to have taught the people to respect and cherish. Some of them ventured even publicly to preach up independence. Such licentiousness might have been attended with fatal consequences; and yet it was not without difficulty that Vespasian was prevailed on by Mucian to make these promoters of sedition feel his power. He banished them all from Rome by an edict, Musonius only excepted, who was favoured on account of his being a knight, and probably because he had likewise been more reserved than the rest. Two of the most perverse and obstinate were sentenced to be banished to the islands, and their behaviour proved how justly they deserved that punishment. Hostilius was actually declaiming against monarchy when his sentence was notified to him; and he only continued his invectives with greater

er vehemence than before. Demetrius the Cynic would not obey, and even affected insolently to throw himself in Vespasian's way, and not to rise to salute him, or show him the least respect. Vespasian only sent him this message, 'Thou dost all 'thou canst to make me take away thy life; but I 'do not kill dogs because they bark.'

He was, however, forced some time after to inflict death on one of these Cynics, whose audaciousness could not be kept within any bounds by other means. Two of those pretended philosophers, disgraces to the name they usurped, returned privately to Rome, notwithstanding the command to the contrary; and one of them, named Diogenes, went to the theatre, where he openly railed most bitterly against Titus for his amours with Berenice. He was taken up and whipped heartily. His companion, one Eras, thinking that would be the worst that would happen to him, imitated, and even surpassed, the insolence of Diogenes; but he was mistaken. His crime seemed greater than that of his comrade, whose example had not deterred him; and accordingly his head was struck off.

Banishment and death of Helvidius Priscus.

One cannot but be sorry to find a man, so estimable in many respects as Helvidius Priscus, copy the vices of masters so unworthy of him. He would have done much better had he imitated his father-in-law Thrasea, who, though he hated and detested Nero's crimes, and cautiously shunned all concern in them, yet never behaved disrespectfully to him. Helvidius, of whose indifference for Vespasian I have already mentioned some instances, seemed to study and contrive how to irritate him, by a continued series of daring rashness. When all the orders of the state went to meet that emperor on his arrival in Italy, he alone did not salute him by the name of Cæsar, but treated him as if he had been no more than a private man. In all the edicts which he issued whilst pretor, he made no mention

tion of the emperor; and, in short, he often resisted him to his face in the senate with insufferable audacity, until at last Vespasian could bear it no longer, and began to think Helvidius aimed at making himself head of a party. It is reasonable to suppose that Mucian improved the opportunity, and inflamed matters still more, and that it was he who persuaded Vespasian to give Helvidius up to the justice of the senate.

Accordingly, the first time that presumptuous senator began again to misbehave, the tribunes of the people seized him, and delivered him over to the custody of their officers. We are not told in what manner he was proceeded against. All we know is, that Vespasian banished him, and afterwards sent orders to kill him.

It was with great reluctance that he was brought to this extreme, which he very soon repented, and wanted to recal his order, and send after the messengers who were charged with it; but those about him deceived him, telling him that it was too late, for Helvidius was no more.

Helvidius's death is a blot in Vespasian's reign. It would have been sufficient to have removed from Rome, and from all concern in the affairs of the state, a man of too republican a temper, whose virtues were, in other respects, an honour to the age he lived in. Not that I pretend to justify his imprudent boldness and untractable spirit of liberty; nor do I think that even Tacitus approved of it; but, on the contrary, that he meant to censure Helvidius, though he does not name him; when, after commending the mildness and wisdom of Agricola, who knew how to calm Domitian's savage temper, he adds this fine and judicious reflection. * Let those who profess themselves admirers of

* Sciant quibus moris illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac mode-

of extremes only, learn that there may be great men even under bad princes; and that modesty and deference, when accompanied with activity and vigour, are more estimable than the vain-glorious ambition of those who have sought to shine in death, without doing the republic any service thereby.

The exact time of Helvidius's banishment and death is not known. M. de Tillemont thinks it was after the philosophers were expelled from Rome, that is, about what we reckon the year of Rome 826 or 827.

Vespasian repairs the ruins of Rome, and embellishes that city. Suet. Vesp. 8. and 9.

One of Vespasian's great cares was to restore the city to its former beauty and magnificence. The mischief done by Nero's conflagration had not yet been got the better of when he ascended the throne. Rome was still disfigured by ruins and numbers of empty spaces. To hasten as much as possible his intended work, Vespasian gave those waste grounds to whoever should first build upon them, if the proprietors of them did not rebuild their houses within a certain limited time. He himself rebuilt several public edifices which had been burnt; and, ever an enemy to vanity and ostentation, he caused not his own, but the names of the first founders, to be inscribed thereon. Above all, he was desirous to have the capitol finished, which, as I before said, after Tacitus, was begun before his return to Italy. Helvidius Priscus, at that time pretor, had laid the first stone; but a part, untouched by any, was doubtless reserved for Vespasian. Himself set an example to all, clearing and carrying away on his shoulders part of the ruins of the old building, and obliging the first of the senate to do the same, that no one citizen might think himself exempted from assisting

Zonar. Suet. and Dio.

stiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicæ usum, ambitiosâ morte inclaruerunt. *Tac. Agr.* 44.

assisting in a work, of which religion, and the worship of the greatest of their gods, was the object.

Not satisfied with having repaired the ruins of Rome, he was likewise desirous to embellish that city with new buildings, such as the temple of Peace already mentioned; a temple in honour of Claudius, to whom he was under personal obligations; and a vast and magnificent amphitheatre, part of which still subsists, and is known by the name of the Colisæum. He did not finish this last building; it was his son Titus who dedicated it.

So wise and good a prince could not but be a patron of learning and arts. He was the first that allotted stipends for the professors of Greek and Latin eloquence, to whom he assigned a yearly pension of an hundred thousand sesterces, payable by the treasury. He likewise rewarded and encouraged the best poets of his time, who hold the next, but greatly inferior rank, to those of the Augustan age. Saleius Bassus, whose poetic genius is greatly commended in a work published in Vespasian's time, received at once from him a present of five hundred thousand sesterces. We have none of that poet's writings left; but Valerius Flaccus, Martial, and Statius, though the two last flourished chiefly under Domitian, confirm the judgment which I, after men of greater learning than myself, have formed of them.

He patronizes learning and arts. Suet. Vesp. 18. L. 800. Dial. de Caus. Corr. Eloq. 5. and 9. L. 4000.

Suetonius likewise mentions with applause the rewards given by Vespasian to architects, mechanics, and musicians; and indeed it is but just to praise such well-judged liberalities, provided we at the same time set a still higher value on the encouragement he gave the lower class of artizans and workmen. An engineer having found out a cheap and easy way to transport heavy pillars to the capi-

tol, Vespasian * commended the invention, and rewarded the inventor, but would not suffer him to put his method in practice, because, said he, it would deprive the poor of their means of subsistence.

Vespasian thought covetous. Suet. Vesp. 16, 19, 23.

Notwithstanding all the great and good qualities of this prince, one fault is strongly laid to his charge; that is, his love of money. He has been blamed for reviving the imposts abolished by Galba, for adding to them other new and very heavy taxes, and for raising the tributes of some provinces to double what they were before his time. One cannot pretend to excuse in an emperor a traffic which would have been justly censured even in a private man, and which he nevertheless carried on quite openly; such as buying up goods with no other view than to sell them again at an advanced price. What is more, he sold offices and employments, and even pardons to such as were accused, whether innocent or guilty. His concubine Cœnis managed these sort of affairs, the produce of which was very great; and no doubt she shared it with the emperor. Vespasian likewise was taxed with employing purposely, in the finances of the state, men whose cupidity he knew would carry them too great lengths, that he might have an opportunity to call them to an account when rich, and make them refund; using them, said the Romans, like so many sponges, which, when thoroughly soaked, he took care to squeeze dry.

Dio.

It must be owned that he did love money.

Many reasons might possibly induce Vespasian to act as he did; though it must be owned that he was naturally fond of money, the value of which he was sensible of from his former state, by no means opulent or easy. An old slave of his humbly begging, after he was emperor, to be set at liberty gratis,

* Præmium pro commento non mediocrè obtulit, operam remisit, præfatus sineret se plebeculam pascere. *Suet.*

gratis, on his refusing it, and insisting on money, could not help upbraiding him with his covetousness: 'Now I am convinced, said the slave to 'him, that the fox changes his coat without chan-'ging his temper.'

Far from blushing at his love of money, Vespasian seemed on the contrary to glory in it, without considering how much he degraded the dignity of his high rank. The deputies of some city or nation waiting on him to acquaint him, that in consequence of a general deliberation of their countrymen, they had brought a million of sesterces to be laid out in erecting a colossal statue to him, and asking where he would please to have it set: 'Set 'it here, said he, holding out his hand, here is a pe-'destal ready for it.' His life is full of such instances. One of his favourite officers begging an employment for a person whom he called his brother, the emperor suspecting some private agreement between them, sent secretly for the candidate himself, and after receiving from him the sum which the other was to have had, gave him the employment he wanted. The officer renewing his solicitations without knowing what had passed, 'I would have 'you, said Vespasian to him, look out for another 'brother, for he whom you thought your brother 'proves to be mine.' His mule-driver stopping one day on the road, while he was in his litter, under pretence of shoeing his mules, a man who had a suit depending took that opportunity to present Vespasian a petition. 'How much hast thou got for 'shoeing the mule?' said he to his driver; and obliged him to give him half the money. This saying of Vespasian's, as every one knows, passed into a kind of proverbial expression. He laid a tax, of what nature our authors have not thought proper to explain, on urine. His son Titus, whose soul was great and noble, could not help expressing his dislike of so sordid an exaction. When Vespasian re- L.8000.

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ceived the first payment of that tax, he held the money up to his son's nose, and asked him whether it stunk? 'It comes, added he, from you 'know what.'

Though he endeavoured, and sometimes wittingly enough, to make a joke of his own covetous disposition, yet it was not in fact the less shameful, nor was he in reality the less addicted to it. The Alexandrians had reason to call him Cybiosactes, a name which they had before given to one of their own kings sordidly avaricious. The Romans, too, made a farce of it at his funeral. It was customary with them to make a buffoon represent the deceased, and by his speeches and gestures express his character and disposition. The fellow who acted that comic part at Vespasian's obsequies, asked how much the expense of the ceremony would amount to; and being answered, ten millions of sesterces, 'Give me the money, cried he, and throw my 'body into the Tiber, if you will.'

See Rom. Hist. Vol. XII.

About L. 80,000.

But many weighty considerations, though they by no means exculpate Vespasian, (for some of the instances I have mentioned will admit of no alleviation), ought at least to prevent our having a contemptible opinion of him, and seem in some measure to justify his character.

Considerations which alleviate his blame.

In the first place, if he sold pardons to criminals, he never condemned an innocent man for the sake of his spoils, which, after a Caligula and a Nero, was some degree of merit. He did not even forfeit the estates of those who died in arms against him, but let their children, or other heirs, enjoy what they left.

Secondly, he found the treasury so exhausted by the prodigalities of his predecessors, the depredations of their ministers, and the dissipations necessarily attending civil wars, that, on his accession to the empire, he declared the republic wanted forty

* forty millions of sesterces (about three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our money) to be able to subsist. It was impossible for him, when so distressed, to think of easing the people; nay, it proves how indispensably necessary it was for him to increase the axes and imposts.

Lastly, a very strong circumstance in his favour is the excellent * use he made of the money he got, though too often by odious means. Sparing as he was in his own personal expenses, he was profuse and magnificent in what concerned the public welfare. I do not speak of the fine buildings with which he embellished Rome, but of his great liberality towards such as really deserved it. He enabled many to sit in the senate, by supplying what was deficient in them in point of fortune. He assisted consular families decayed and reduced, granting them a yearly pension of five hundred thousand sesterces. L. 4000. He made good the damage which several cities had sustained, either by earthquakes, as Salaminum and Paphos in the island of Cyprus, or by fires, and even added new embellishments. He spent large sums to repair the roads, Aur. Vict. without vexing or harassing the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed. I have already spoken of his munificence towards such as excelled in learning and useful arts. So good and proper a use of the public riches most certainly speaks a great prince. If Vespasian had glutted the greediness of his courtiers by inconsiderately lavishing money upon them, they would have thought him generous and liberal, and would not have minded how he got it.

Before I conclude Vespasian's character, it is proper to say somewhat of his private life, in which Vespasian's conduct in private life. Suet. Vesp. 21, 22, 23. and Dio.

* Budæus thinks this too large a sum, and therefore reduces it to a tenth part, by reading quadragies instead of quadringenties.

† Male partis optime usus est. *Suet.*

simplicity, and the most aimable and easy manners always reigned. He applied to business very early in the morning, as I before said, and even his friends were not admitted to see him, till after he had read his letters, and settled his family-affairs, day by day. While they paid their court to him, he dressed himself; after which he atttended public business; that over, the rest of the day was allotted to unbend his mind, and he either took a walk, or slept a little, bathed, and supped sparingly, though his table was well spread, and several people of fashion were always invited. Then it was that he gave a loose to his natural gaiety; and such as had favours to ask, generally took that opportunity to prefer their petitions. He was very fond of joking, as the reader may have observed by what has been already said of him, and would sometimes go even beyond the common bounds of urbanity and good humour.

Having thus given an account of Vespasian's character and government, and the general annals of his reign, I have but few events more remaining to relate.

Mucian's death: his works. Tillem. Vesp. Art. 19.

Mucian died before him, after being thrice consul. We have no particular account of what that man, more famous than truly estimable, did during Vespasian's reign. I shall only observe, that he was an author. Pliny often quotes his observations on the history and geography of the East; and we learn from another quarter that he collected and published all the monuments he could find in old libraries, relating to the learning and eloquence of the most famous Romans who flourished towards the end of the republic. Pliny has recorded an instance of Mucian's superstition, who, he says, always carried about him a live fly wrapt up in a bit of linen, to preserve him from sore eyes.

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The death of the Gaul Sabinus, and his wife Epponina, was preceded by, and attended with, extremely moving circumstances. I have already said how Sabinus, having taken part in Civilis's revolt, was conquered by the Sequani. He might easily have fled to Germany, but was withheld by his love of a young wife, the most virtuous and most accomplished of women, whom he could not possibly leave behind, nor carry with him. He had subterraneous caverns, very deep and spacious, in which he concealed his treasures, and of which no person whatever, two of his freedmen excepted, had any knowledge. Resolving to conceal himself likewise there, he dismissed all his attendants, as if he had intended to poison himself, and kept only those two freedmen, on whose inviolable fidelity he firmly depended. With their assistance, he set fire to his country-house, to make people think his body was consumed by the flames, and, retiring to his cavern, sent one of them to tell his wife that he was dead. He knew how much she would be afflicted, and concluded that the reality of her grief would thoroughly convince the world that he was dead. He was not mistaken. Epponina, quite frantic and despairing, gave a loose to her tears and mourning, and would take no sort of sustenance for three days and three nights. Sabinus, being informed of her situation, began to fear the consequences for her sake, and privately sent her word that he was not dead, but hidden in a safe retreat; at the same time begging her to continue her demonstrations of sorrow, to keep up the belief of an error on which their mutual safety depended.

Adventures and death of Sabinus and Epponina. Tac. Hist. IV. 67. Plut. Amat. Dio.

Epponina acted her part perfectly well; she visited her husband in the night, and appeared again in the day-time, without giving the least room to suspect the mystery that was carrying on. She grew bolder by degrees, was longer absent, and at last almost buried herself alive with Sabinus, only

taking care to be seen now and then in the city. What is more extraordinary is, that, being with child, she delivered herself in the cavern, and suckled two sons in that melancholy abode, one of whom died afterwards in Egypt, and the other travelled to Greece, and might possibly be still alive when Plutarch wrote. Epponina spent nine years in that dark retreat, one interval of seven months only excepted, during which some hopes of pardon having been given her, she carried her husband to Rome, so diguised that it was impossible he should be known; after which, finding her expectations frustrated, she conducted him back to his cavern.

At last Sabinus was discovered and taken, with his wife and children. They were all carried prisoners to Rome, and brought before the emperor; on which occasion Epponina again behaved with a courage suitable to her name, which, in the Celtic language, signified Heroine. She spoke with firmness to Vespasian, tried to move his pity, and presenting him her children, 'Cæsar, said she, I have 'brought forth these melancholy fruits of our dis-'grace, and have suckled and reared them up in 'all the horrors of darkness, to have a greater 'number of supplicants to implore your mercy.' Vespasian could not refrain from tears, though he condemned Sabinus and Epponina to die, sparing only their children. A mistaken reason of state, and the Roman maxims of policy, always hard and cruel towards foreigners, prevented his giving way to such moving entreaties, or even to his own inclination to clemency. Epponina, driven to despair, kept no longer any bounds, but, audaciously insulting the prince she could not move, upbraided herself for having stooped so low as to beg for life, and told him that she had lived with more satisfaction in all the darkness of a cave than he upon the throne. The death of this heroic woman filled

filled all Rome with deep concern; and Plutarch imputes the extinction of Vespasian's family, which ended in his two sons, to the vengeance of the gods for that deed.

The conspiracy of Cecina, and Eprius Marcellus is the last event that Dion Cassius relates before Vespasian's death: and I have nothing to add to what I said of it in the annals, unless it be, that Titus had great reason to make haste to prevent a very imminent danger; and that, when he caused Cecina to be stabbed, he had clear and manifest proofs of his guilt in a seditious speech written with his own hand, on purpose to induce the soldiers to revolt. It is therefore unjustly that some have accused Titus of having revenged on Cecina his jealousy of Berenice, and rid himself of a favoured rival by his death.

Conspiracy of Cecina and Marcellus.

Suet. tit. 6. and Dion.

Vict. Epit.

Vespasian had almost attained his seventieth year, without any other infirmity than some fits of the gout, and without being obliged to observe any greater regimen than dieting himself one day every month, which he always did. The natural gaiety of his temper contributed doubtless not a little to his good state of health. He was not easily ruffled or disturbed, and even the pretended presages that alarmed others for him, were to him a subject of mirth and pleasantry. It was reported that the mausoleum of the Cæsars had burst open on a sudden. 'That does not regard me,' said Vespasian; 'I am not descended from the race of Augustus.' A comet appearing with an extraordinary long tail, he said to some who were talking about it, 'If that 'star menaces any body, it must be the king of 'Parthia, who has long hair, and not me, who am 'bald.'

Vespasian's death.

Suet. Vesp. 23. 24. and Dio.

His illness began with a slight fever whilst he was in Campania. He returned immediately to Rome, from whence he went, as usual, to a seat of his near Rieti, where he generally spent the hottest part

part of the summer. There he drank plentifully of the mineral waters of Cutiliæ *, which are extremely cold. They did not agree with him: his disorder increased considerably: he was sensible of the danger he was in, and said, 'Methinks † I am 'going to be a god;' alluding to the apotheosis which was to follow his death. Though he grew weaker every day, he omitted none of his usual occupations, but still applied to business, and gave audience in bed. At last, finding himself going, he made an effort to rise, saying, 'It becomes an 'emperor to die upon his legs. He expired in the arms of those that supported him, the twenty-fourth of June, in the year of Rome 830, according to our calculation, having lived sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days, and reigned ten years, less six days; for we have observed, after Tacitus, that he dated the beginning of his reign from the first of July, the day on which he was proclaimed emperor in Alexandria.

Vespasian was the first emperor after Augustus, who could in any shape reconcile the Romans to monarchy. After a continued series of tyranny for fifty-six years, he first made Rome and the universe feel the sweets of a good and wise administration. He may justly be compared to Augustus, whom he surpassed in the legitimacy of the means by which he attained the empire, and whom he equalled in his conduct whilst emperor.

Before I proceed to the reign of Vespasian's eldest son and successor Titus, it is fit I should give my readers an account of the war with the Jews, and of the siege and taking of Jerusalem.

* Cotigliano, in the duchy of Spoletta.
† Ut puto, Deus fio. *Suet.*

BOOK XVI.

SECT. I.

The ruin of the Jews a most interesting event, especially with respect to religion. Weight and importance of Josephus's authority. Necessity of abridging his account in this work. The zeal of the Jews for their religion, a first cause of their aversion to the Romans. Ancient prophecies misunderstood, a second motive of rebellion. Judas the Galilean author of a powerful faction. Florus intendant of Judea towards the end of Nero's reign. Dreadful situation in which he finds Judea. Florus's tyrannical government. Cæstius governor of Syria neglects to remedy the evil. Florus purposes to make an open war break out. Disturbances in Cæsarea between the Jews and the idolaters who inhabited that city. Florus promotes those disturbances, instead of suppressing them. Sedition in Jerusalem occasioned by Florus, and punished with such cruelty as might well drive the Jews to despair. Epoch of the beginning of the war. Three parties among the Jews. New sedition in Jerusalem. Florus's perfidy. Another slaughter of the Jews. The governor of Syria sends an officer to examine into the state of things. King Agrippa endeavours to calm the Jews, and prevails on them to give up some points; but cannot persuade them to submit to Florus. The seditious refuse the victims offered in the name of the Romans. The chiefs of the nation, after striving in vain to bring back the seditious, implore the assistance of Florus and Agrippa against them. Intestine war in Jerusalem between the great men and the wiser part of the people on one side, and the seditious on the other. The latter prevail. Horrid perfidy of the seditious towards the Roman garrison. The Jews

of Cæsarea extirpated. All Syria filled with slaughter by the battles between the Jews and the Syrians. Cyprus and Macherontum taken from the Romans. Jerusalem besieged by Cestius. He misses several opportunities of taking the city. The Jews pursue him in his retreat. Numbers of Jews fly from Jerusalem. The Christians leave it, and retire to Pella. Complaints made to Nero against Florus. The council of the Jews allots each his department. Josephus sent into Galilee. Josephus's wise regulation with respect to civil and military affairs. John of Giscola, an enemy to Josephus, thwarts him greatly. Character and history of that wretch. Nero commits the care of the Jewish war to Vespasian. Vespasian assembles his army at Ptolemais. He enters Galilee. Siege of Jotapata. Jotapata taken. Josephus is discovered in a cave where he had hid himself. He surrenders, inspired so to do, as he says, by a divine impulse. Fury of those that were in the same cave with him. They kill each other, and Josephus, being delivered from them, surrenders to the Romans. Pretended prophecies of Josephus. Vespasian receives and treats him well. Japha taken by the Romans. They cut in pieces the Samaritans assembled on mount Gerizim. Joppa taken and destroyed. Vespasian marches against Tiberiades, the gates of which are opened to him. He takes Farichæa. Titus's clemency. Near forty thousand flagitious wretches killed or sold by Vespasian, contrary to the promise made them. He completes the conquest of Galilee. John flies from Giscala to Jerusalem. He increases the troubles and confusions of that city, and makes the inhabitants still more obstinately bent on war. Rapine, violence, and cruelty of the factious. They take the name of zealots, and make themselves masters of the temple. Ananus's speech to the people against the zealots. The people take arms, and force the outer court of the temple. Treachery of John

of

of Gicala. The zealots call in the Idumeans to their assistance. Speech of the high-priest Jesus to the Idumeans, to dissuade them from their alliance with the zealots. He cannot prevail on them. The Idumeans, being introduced by the zealots into the city and temple, murder numbers of the people. The two high-priests, Ananus and Jesus, killed by the Idumeans. Cruelties committed by the zealots and Idumeans. Judgment and death of Zacharias son of Baruch. The Idumeans find they have been deceived by the zealots, and accordingly leave Jerusalem. Further cruelties of the zealots. Horrid oppression of the people of Jerusalem. Vespasian lets the Jews weaken themselves by their intestine broils. Gadara, the capital of Perea, taken. Total reduction of that country. All Judea subdued, except Jerusalem, and three fortresses held by the robbers. Vespasian is obliged to discontinue the war against the Jews. He delivers Josephus from his bonds. Titus sent by his father to besiege Jerusalem.

The ruin of the Jews a most interesting event, especially with respect to religion.

THE ruin of the Jews is in itself a very interesting event, but infinitely more so when considered as so closely connected with our holy religion. A bloody war, in which party-rage conspires with foreign arms to destroy the nation, or rather forces a mild and merciful enemy, who wanted to save the conquered, in spite of his humane disposition, to destroy them; an ancient and famous people, who, from their country, as from a centre, had spread themselves over every part of the known world, smitten with the most dreadful calamities ever recorded in history; a great and lofty city devoured by flames, and eleven hundred thousand inhabitants buried under its ruins; a temple the wonder of the world, and the object of the veneration even of those

those who followed a different worship, so entirely demolished, that not one stone was left upon another, are surely such events as, if they were only merely human, could not but highly interest every one. How much more regard ought we to pay to them, when considered as one of the strongest proofs of the truth of our holy religion? When we reflect that they were foretold by Jesus Christ forty years before they happened, at a time when nothing seemed to portend any such event; that the dispersion of the Jewish people, and the ruin of the temple, form a part of the gospel-system, by means of which the knowledge of the true God was no longer to be confined to one nation only, nor his worship attached to any one particular place; in short, that these disasters, the greatest that can possibly be conceived, are the revenge which God took for the greatest crime that ever was perpetrated upon this earth—the cruel and ignominious death of his son.

Weight and importance of Josephus's authority.

It has pleased Providence that so important a piece of history should be transmitted down to us by one who was an eye-witness, and had himself a great share in the principal events; a witness no ways suspected of favouring Christianity, who saw the marks of divine vengeance fall upon his unhappy country, as he often says in the course of his work, but was ignorant of what occasioned it. Josephus was far from thinking that the Jews had drawn down the indignation of the Almighty upon themselves, by rejecting and crucifying the Messias promised to their fathers, as appears by his, as fawningly as impiously, applying to the enemies and destroyers of his nation the sacred oracles by which a deliverer was promised them.

Necessity of abridging his account in this work.

He has treated his subject very fully, being scrupulously careful not to omit any one circumstance, as his design and sole intent were to convey the fullest and most ample instruction, not only to his contemporaries, but likewise to posterity. The generality

nerality of readers, as well as the more learned, are well acquainted with those events by the translation of Josephus, which is in every person's hand; but what was the historian's object in that work, is but a small part of that which I have undertaken. I am consequently under a necessity, so far, of abridging my narrative, without omitting any thing that essentially characterizes the chief actors, and especially those on whom the hand of the Almighty is most visibly imprinted in this great event.

The zeal of the Jews for their religion, a first cause of their aversion to the Romans.

The Jews were at this time more attached than they had ever before been to the religion of their forefathers, though it must be owned that their intercourse with strangers, and the study of the Greek philosophy, had corrupted the minds of some among them. Epicurism, so contrary to the principles of even natural religion, had gained ground among them, and given rise to the sect of the Sadducees; but that sect, though followed by the chief of their priests, was far from being numerous. The greater part of the nation seemed, in consequence of its mixture with idolaters, to be more than ever zealous for purity of worship. The Pharisees, who affected a great show of severity, swayed the people, who would hear none else, and who, under their authority, had received and admitted several ceremonious observances, which, being added to the law, widened still more the breach between the Jews and the Gentiles. Thence ensued numerous seditions either against their kings when they were thought to favour the Roman customs too much, or against the Romans themselves. I before gave a particular account of that which the affair of Caligula's statue occasioned, by which the nation was on the brink of ruin. So strong and ardent was the zeal of the Jews, that they would not suffer the images of the Cæsars, worshipped every where else, even to be brought into their country; and the Roman magistrates and

Jos. Ant. xviii. 2.

generals humoured them therein. Josephus says, that when Vitellius, governor of Syria, was preparing to cross Judea with his army to make war against Arætas king of the Arabians, the chief of the Jews went out to meet him, and represented to him that the colours of his legions were loaded with images which by their law were not allowed to be seen in their country. Vitellius received them favourably, granted their request, and, sending his army round another way, went himself to Jerusalem with only a few friends.

Ancient prophecies misunderstood, a second motive of rebellion.

Another motive of rebellion with the Jews was their misunderstanding, and in consequence thereof misinterpreting, the oracles relating to the Messias. They knew that the times indicated by the prophets were past; and their passions not having suffered them to acknowledge a Saviour who delivered them from the bondage of sin only, and not from the Roman yoke, they were always ready to listen to every impostor that flattered them with hopes of liberty, and dominion over their enemies.

Crowds of impostors.

Accordingly Josephus's history of the time I am now speaking of, is full of attempts of numbers of impostors of every kind to make themselves kings, or at least to shake off the foreign yoke. Often did they lead vast multitudes to the deserts by promising them wonderful things. One of these troops was no sooner dispersed than another arose, headed by some new seducer. Judas the

Acts v. 37.

Galilean, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, was the man whose faction prevailed longest, and made most noise.

Judas the Galilean author of a powerful faction. Jos. Ant. xvii. 1. & 2. et de B. Jud. ii. 7.

He was a man of parts, eloquent, strongly attached to the doctrine of the Pharisees, which he carried to extremes, and to which he added a love of liberty bordering on fanaticisim. When Judea was reduced into a Roman province after the death of Archelaus, Quirinus going thither by Augustus's command

command, to number * the people, and take an account of their possessions; Judas, seconded by another Pharisee called Sadoc, publicly rose up to oppose a custom which he called tyrannical. He pretended that the declarations to which they were to be subjected were in fact a real slavery; and under that pretence he urged the Jews to revolt, telling them they had no other lord or master than God only. His seditious clamours were ineffectual at first, the few that followed him being soon obliged to disperse and fly. But he left proselytes, who maintained his favourite tenet so obstinately, that they chose rather to suffer the severest punishments and most cruel deaths, than to call any mortal man by the name of lord and master. The proud maxims of these madmen infected by degrees the minds of the people, and sowed among them the seeds of rebellion, which, after causing several slight disturbances, broke out at last so violently, on account of the odious vexations and great injustice of the intendant Gabius Florus, that nothing less than the total ruin of the nation was able to quench the flame.

A. R. 816. Florus intendant of Judea towards the end of Nero's reign. Dreadful situation in which he finds Judea. Jos. Ant. xx. 6—9. and de B. Jud. ii. 12, 13.

Florus was sent to govern Judea in the eleventh year of Nero's reign, having obtained that post by means of his wife, who was a friend of Poppea's. He found the country in such a situation as would have afforded a wise, active, and honest governor, a fine field to display his talents and virtues in; but which, to Florus, seemed only to offer a fairer opportunity to plunder and enrich himself. Every one of the seducers that had risen since Judea obeyed the Romans, had done more or less mischief to the Jews. Though they had not succeeded, their factions had not been so thoroughly rooted out but that

* This numbering of the people is not that mentioned by St Luke, chap. ii. This happened ten or twelve years after that which the evangelist speaks of.

many of their followers still remained, and as Judea is a mountainous country, and borders on vast deserts, such as had escaped the Roman sword, easily found asylums and safe retreats, from whence they made horrid incursions, and desolated the country round about. These seditious troops all agreed in their strict adherence to the maxims of Judas the Galilean. All concealed their real motives of rage, under the specious pretence of ardent zeal for the defence of their country's liberty; boasting that God had raised them up to wipe off the stain of their nation's subjection to a foreign power, and threatening to put to death all who remained submissive to the Romans. Every friend of peace was consequently an enemy to these furious wretches, who plundered their houses, murdered them, burned whole villages, and, over-running every part of Judea, dealt horror and destruction round them.

Some of the most daring of these robbers, leaving their troops behind them, ventured to Jerusalem, in hopes of kindling the flames of sedition, and destroying such as were inclined to peace and obedience. Not being strong enough to attack them openly, they murdered and assassinated them daily, not sparing even such as took shelter in the temple. To this end, they were provided with a short weapon, which they hid under their garments, and, mixing with the crowd on high days and festivals, suddenly stabbed whoever had the misfortune to be suspected by them; and then, pretending to be astonished and amazed, joined the other spectators in their exclamations and complaints; by which means they escaped unnoticed. Their first victim was Jonathas, who had been high-priest; besides him, they killed several other citizens of distinction; and murders of this kind became so frequent, that every one was in continual

fear

fear and apprehension: it was dangerous to venture out even into the streets.

Florus's predecessor, Albinus, had encouraged the audaciousness of these wretches, by suffering their crimes to pass unpunished. Basely and most shamefully covetous, he sold the public safety for money. Such as were arrested and put in prison for their crimes, were sure to be released if they took care to make him proper presents; and none were found guilty but those who had nothing to give. The factious purchased with money leave to do whatever they pleased; and his officers, imitating his example, exacted from the lower class those contributions which richer men paid to the governor. By this means several bands of robbers were formed, each of which had its separate commander, and committed all manner of violences with impunity. The peaceful citizens fell a prey to them, and durst not even venture to complain when they were robbed and plundered, because they knew they could not have justice done them; if spared, they thought themselves happy; and the fear of impending danger forced them to truckle to wretches worthy of the severest punishment.

Florus's tyrannical government.

Florus, who succeeded Albinus, made his predecessor be regretted. Albinus acted more slily, and seemed susceptible of some degree of shame; but Florus gloried openly in his injustice, rapine, and cruelty, and behaved towards the Jews like an executioner sent to butcher them. Void of all sense of shame and pity, he knew not what it was to compassionate another's sufferings, nor ever blushed at the most shameful deeds. As cunning as he was audacious, he excelled in the most detestable art of blackening and misrepresenting the strongest evidences of right and justice. To rob particular persons was a trifle with him; he plundered and laid waste whole cities and countries at one stroke. Every one saw plainly that he kept up an intelli-

gence with the robbers: nay, he even published, with sound of trumpet, a general permission to rob and kill, provided he had his share of the booty. So tyrannical a government forced the inhabitants to desert the country; and numbers of families accordingly abandoned their dwellings and possessions, to seek peace and safety among other nations.

Cæstius governor of Syria neglects to remedy the evil.

Jos. de B. Jud. ii. 23.

The Jews had still a resource left in the governor of Syria, Cæstius Gallus, who, besides the civil administration of that country, had likewise had the command of the legions there ever since Corbulo put an end to the Parthian war; and the intendant of Judea was accountable to him: but none were bold enough to go to Antioch, where he generally resided, to lay their complaints before him. The Jews waited for his coming to

A. R. 817.

Jerusalem. In fact, he came thither at the time of the Passover, in the year of Christ sixty-six, being the twelfth of Nero's reign. Three millions of Jews crowded about him, beseeching him to pity their wretched country, and do them justice against Florus, to whom all their misfortunes were owing. Cæstius appeased the multitude by fair promises, but applied no effectual remedy to their ills; and when he returned to Antioch, Florus attended him as far as Cæsarea, and took that opportunity artfully to represent things as he thought proper, and turn them to his own advantage.

Florus purposes to make an open war break out.

Florus was, however, apprehensive of the consequences of an affair of which all the blame was manifestly due to him, and, in order to stifle matters, he resolved to bring on an open war. He made no doubt but that if the country remained at peace, the Jews, unable to bear his ill usage, would at last apply to the emperor; whereas an open rebellion would at once make them appear so very guilty as to prevent all possibility of their being heard.

heard. He therefore studied to aggravate their miseries more and more, in order to force them to extremes. An insurrection which happened just then in Cæsarea favoured his design, and afforded him a specious pretence to begin to put it in execution.

Disturbances in Cæsarea between the Jews and the idolaters who inhabited that city. Jos. Ant. xv. 13. & de B. Jud. i. 16.

The city of Cæsarea, before it was built by Herod, was known by the name of Stabo's tower, and was an old ruinous place. Herod, pleased with the situation, resolved to make it a monument of his magnificence, and of his gratitude towards Augustus. He rebuilt it entirely, made a harbour, erected a palace for himself; and, as religion never interfered with his politics, he set up statues, and built a temple in honour of the prince, whom he revered more sincerely than he did the God of heaven: so that a mixture of idolatry and of the worship of the only true God, reigned in this city, which was inhabited by Syrians as well as Jews. This difference of worship could not but be a source of dissension, and the quarrel ran high between these two nations inhabitants of Cæsarea, at the same time that Pallas's brother Felix was governor of Judea. The Jews said they were entitled to the first rank in a city founded by their king Herod. The Syrians, on the other hand, maintained that they were the representatives of the ancient inhabitants of Strabo's tower; adding, that it was plain Herod never intended to rebuild the city for the use of the Jews, since he had erected temples and statues in it. From words both parties proceeded to blows; seditions arose, and battles ensued. At last the Roman magistrate interposed, and, after quelling the most mutinous by force, ordered both parties to remain quiet till the emperor himself should determine the dispute. Nero decided it in favour of the Syrians, and his answer came just at the time when Judea was all on fire owing to Florus's machina-

Jos. Ant. xx. 6 and de B. Jud. ii. 12.

tions. The Jews of Cæsarea were certainly far from being pleased with the emperor's decision: and their adversaries triumphed upon it with such arrogance as highly increased their resentment, which broke out openly from that time.

Jos. de B. Jud. ii. 13. 14. The Jews had a synagogue in Cæsarea, near a spot of ground belonging to a Syrian, whom they had often tried to prevail on to sell it to them, offering him a much greater price than it was worth: but he rejected their proposals with scorn, and began to build there himself shops, by which the passage to the synagogue was greatly obstructed and confined. Some of the most hot-headed of the young Jews had recourse to violence, and fell upon the workmen. Florus condemned and put a stop to these illegal proceedings; whereupon the richest and most powerful of the nation entered into treaty with him, and, in consideration of eight talents which they gave him, they obtained his promise that the shops should not be built. But Florus, as perfidious as he was interested, made them that promise only to get their money; and, as soon as he had it, he went away to Sebasta in Samaria, leaving them to proceed as they thought proper, as if he had sold them nothing more than barely leave to do themselves justice. His policy therein tended visibly rather to inflame the quarrel than to end it. And accordingly so it happened.

Florus promotes these disturbances, instead of suppressing them.

The day after Florus's departure was the sabbath, on which, while the Jews were assembled in their synagogue, one of the most factious of the idolaters, placed in the midst of their way an earthen pot turned upside down, and got all his implements ready to sacrifice birds upon it, according to the rites of the Pagans. The Jews were bitterly incensed at seeing their religion so insulted, and a place, which they looked upon as holy, profaned in that manner. The oldest and most prudent of them were for applying to the magistrates for redress;

dress; but their young men, more giddy and headstrong, would not listen to their remonstrances: they ran to arms; and as their adversaries, who had plotted their pretended sacrifice on purpose, had taken care to be ready to receive them, a battle ensued, in which the Syrians got the better, not only of the Jews, but of the Roman officers who came up with soldiers to appease the tumult: whereupon the Jews, taking with them the books of their law, retired to a place called Narbata, sixty stadia * from Cæsarea. Twelve of the most distinguished among them went to Sebastium to implore Florus's protection, reminding him, with great submission, of the eight talents he had received from them: but, instead of fulfilling his engagements, Florus ordered the petitioners to be thrown into prison, as having committed a crime in taking away the book of their law.

Sedition in Jerusalem occasioned by Florus, and punished with such cruelty as might well drive the Jews to despair.

The Jews of Jerusalem were greatly afflicted at the sufferings of their brethren in Cæsarea, but still they kept within due bounds. Florus, who had resolved to stir up a war, sent at the same time orders to take seventeen talents out of the treasury of the temple, under pretence of its being for the emperor's service. An attempt like this was more than the people could bear. They run from all quarters to the temple; and an infinite multitude, venting their grief and indignation, invoked the name of Cæsar, and prayed to be delivered from the tyranny of Florus. Some of the promoters of this sedition, who, as I said before, had got into Jerusalem, railed against the intendant, loaded him with curses, and, to ridicule him, went round the city with a dish in their hands, begging alms for him as for a poor famished man. Even this public derision did not shame Florus out of his love of money, but added a desire of revenge to his natural cupidity,

* About seven miles and a half.

cupidity. Forgetting Cæsarea, where the disturbances began, and to pacify which he had been already paid, he marched furiously towards Jerusalem; and, still more desirous of plunder than revenge, he carried with him numbers of soldiers, both horse and foot, purposely to make a great noise and show, and to blow up into a flame a few sparks which he might easily have stifled. The people, quite intimidated, endeavoured to divert the impending storm, and, going out to meet the army, prepared to receive Florus with all the honours due to his rank. Florus despatched an officer at the head of fifty horsemen with orders to disperse the multitude, and tell them it was now too late to think of appeasing with feigned submissions him whom they had so daringly and grossly insulted; and that the time was now come when they must show by deeds, and not by words only, how far they valued their liberty. This was giving the Jews a fair challenge; but they did not accept it. The people were sincerely disposed to peace, and really sorry that they could not make the Romans be witnesses to their obedience. Every man retired to his own home, and spent the night in continual fears and alarms.

Florus took up his lodging in Herod's palace; and the next day, being seated on his tribunal, he sent for the chiefs of the priests, and all the principal men of the city, to whom he declared that they must either deliver up to him those who had insulted him, or suffer themselves the punishment due to their crime. They answered him: 'That the people 'of Jerusalem loved peace, and beseeched him to 'pardon those who had offended him: That it 'could not be wondered at, if, in so great a mul'titude, there were some the rashness of whose 'youth had made them forget themselves: That 'it was absolutely impossible then to distinguish 'the guilty from the innocent, because fear and 'repentance made them all speak the same lan-

'guage

'guage, and there was no way to know the one 'from the other: That it would be right in Florus 'to keep their nation at peace; that he ought to 'preserve to the Romans a city which was one of 'the ornaments of their empire; and that it was 'more just to pardon a few delinquents, in favour 'of an infinite number of innocent persons, than 'to ruin a whole good and faithful people, to be 'revenged on a handful of audacious men.'

These remonstrances served only to irritate Florus, who, no longer able to contain his rage, ordered his soldiers to go and plunder the upper city, which was the ancient fortress of David on Mount Sion, and to put all they met with to the sword. The soldiers, as greedy as their commander, thus authorized by him, stuck at nothing; their rage went much beyond the bounds which even he had set it, breaking open houses, and killing all they found, without distinction of age or sex. Three thousand six hundred, including women and children, were slain. Some persons of distinction were seized by the soldiers, and carried to Florus, who ordered them to be scourged and crucified. Of this number were some Roman knights; and Josephus very justly observes that it was a most tyrannical deed in Florus to treat with such cruelty men who, though born Jews, were become Romans, and had been confirmed such by the titles they had received.

Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 6.

Id. ibid. ii. 14.

Berenice was then at Jerusalem, fulfilling a vow she had made. Pitying the wretched condition of her countrymen, this princess did all that was in her power to move the enraged and merciless Florus. She sent several of her officers many times to him; till, at last, finding she could obtain nothing, and that the soldiers still continued to wreak their cruelties on the unhappy Jews even under her eyes, she went herself to the intendant to intercede for them. But all would not do; nothing could touch the stubborn

stubborn heart of Florus, nor appease his rage, heightened by the desire of plunder. He received Berenice extremely ill; she was even in danger of being insulted in his presence, and wounded by the soldiers, and was very glad to be able to get back to her palace, where she shut herself up with a strong guard.

Epoch of the beginning of the war.

This event, which we may look upon as the epoch of the beginning of the war, happened in the year of Christ sixty-six, and, according to Josephus, on the sixteenth of the month Artemisius, which, according to Scaliger's and M. de Tillemont's calculations, answers pretty nearly to our month of May.

Three parties among the Jews.

We find on the side of the Jews three different classes of men concerned, whom it is necessary to distinguish perfectly, in order to form a just idea of the state of things, and to understand rightly what we shall have occasion to relate; the grandees or chiefs of the nation, always friends to peace, and careful to maintain it, because they foresaw the fatal consequences of rebellion; a party of seditious, who, out of a mad love of liberty, or rather that they might under that pretence commit all sorts of crimes, blew up the flames of war; and, lastly, the bulk of the mob, naturally disposed to follow the impressions given them by their chief men, but sometimes wrought upon and led astray by the audaciousness of the seditious, who at last succeeded so far as to rule and govern them.

New sedition in Jerusalem. Florus's perfidy. Another slaughter of the Jews.

The day after the military execution of which I have been speaking, the people, unable to contain their grief, flocked together in the upper city; and there, upbraiding Florus with the blood of those that had been killed the evening before, they gave a loose to the utmost anger and resentment. The chief of the priests and the great men, alarmed at this beginning of sedition, ran towards the mob, and, rending their garments, begged and entreated them

them to separate and disperse. They did so, and peace seemed to be again restored.

That was not what Florus wanted. War and discord suited his views better. He had ordered two cohorts from Cæsarea, who at that time were not far distant from the city. Detestably perfidious, he undertook to deliver up the people of Jerusalem to their mercy. On one hand, he told the chief priests, that if they would give him a proof of the sincerity of the submission of their nation, they must prevail on the people to go out and meet those cohorts. On the other, he sent private orders to the two cohorts not to return the salute of the Jews; and supposing, with great probability, that this mark of enmity and contempt would not fail to incense them highly, and provoke them to renew their clamours against him, he at the same time commanded the cohorts to fall upon the Jews, and treat them as enemies, the moment they should attempt to show their resentment. This horrid scheme succeeded to his wish. The priests having with great difficulty prevailed on the people to go out of the city to receive the cohorts that were coming, some seditious, who had mingled with the crowd, began to murmur because their salute was not returned, and, imputing it to Florus, raised their voices, and exclaimed loudly against his tyranny; upon which the cohorts immediately attacked the unarmed defenceless multitude, whose only safety was in flight. Such was their hurry and confusion, that more were stifled and crushed to death at the gates of the city than killed by the enemy's sword.

The cohorts entered pell-mell with the people they pursued, at the quarter called Bezetha, on the north side of the temple, and strove to get into the fortress Antonia. That fortress, built by the Asmonean kings, and considerably enlarged and fortified by Herod, who called it after the name of his

Jos. Ant. xv. 14.

his benefactor Antony, commanded the temple, of which it occupied the north-west angle. The Romans kept a garrison in it, and I know not why Josephus makes no mention of those troops in his account of the combat we are speaking of. However that may have been, the efforts of the two cohorts were unsuccessful. In vain did Florus, longing to possess himself of the treasure in the temple, come up to their assistance with the troops that attended him. The Jews crowded the streets so as to hinder all passage through them, and many climbing up on the roofs of the houses, let fall such showers of darts and arrows as forced the enemy to retreat, and the Jews kept possession of the temple.

Jos. de B. Jud. ii. 15.

But they were afraid that Florus would renew his attack upon them; and as he was master of fort Antonia, by having the command of the garrison in it, and the Jews not being strong enough of themselves to attack it, the seditious beat down the galleries of communication between that fort and the temple; by which means, being detached, it was less able to annoy them.

Florus thereupon took a very extraordinary resolution. His presence could never be more necessary at Jerusalem than at this very time; and yet he went away to Cæsarea, leaving behind him, by agreement with the chiefs of the people, only one cohort to keep guard. The only motive to which Josephus ascribes so extraordinary a step is, that he found he could not plunder the treasure of the temple; and, consequently, losing all hopes of seizing the prey that brought him thither, he had no longer any reason to stay in Jerusalem. Perhaps, too, cowardice might have some share in what he did; and he might be willing first of all to secure his own person, and then to call in Cæstius to prosecute the war his tyranny had set on foot.

Cæstius,

Cæstius received at the same time Florus's letters, wherein he accused the Jews of rebellion; and others from Berenice, and the chief men of Jerusalem, in which they complained bitterly of Florus. Not knowing what to think of two so different representations of facts, he resolved to send a tribune called Neapolitanus to examine matters on the spot, and give him an account of the real state of affairs.

An officer sent by the governor of Syria to examine into the state of things.

Agrippa, second of that name, brother to Berenice, and king of part of Judea, under the protection of the Romans, arrived at that very time from Alexandria, where he had been to compliment Tiberius Alexander on his being made prefect of Egypt. He met Neapolitanus at Jamnia, and the chief priests and senate of Jerusalem went thither to them. Agrippa loved his country; but though he was very sensible of the hardships which the Jews suffered, yet, as he knew their stubborn and intractable temper, he thought it most for their good to blame them for what they had done. The deputies saw his drift, and, thinking themselves obliged to their king for reprimanding them out of friendship, they prevailed on him to go to Jerusalem with Neapolitanus.

King Agrippa endeavours to calm the Jews, and prevails on them to give up some points.

The people of this city went out to meet them near eight miles off. There they began again their lamentations and complaints, and with one voice begged their country might be delivered from the rage of Florus. The king and the Roman officer, entering the city, saw with their own eyes the flagrant marks of Florus's devastations; and the Jews, to convince Neapolitanus how sincerely they submitted to the Romans, and that they had no spite or rancour against any but Florus, who had but too much deserved their hatred, prevailed on the tribune, Agrippa likewise seconding their request, to take a turn round the city on foot, with only one slave to attend him. Neapolitanus was so satisfied with

with the tranquillity, good order, and submission he saw every where, that, going up to the temple, he assembled the people there, and commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, of which he promised to give the governor of Syria a faithful account; and, after paying homage to the God in whose temple he was, he retired and departed.

However, all was not yet settled; the Jews would not acknowledge Florus's authority any longer, but wanted to send deputies to Nero to inform him of all that had passed; and, to this end, they strongly solicited Agrippa and their chief priests, representing, that if they suffered Florus to go on, he would throw all the odium of what had happened on their nation, though he himself was alone guilty, and would make it pass for a rebellion before the emperor's council. These reasons were certainly just; but those who hold the highest rank are always more timid than the lower class of people, because they have more to lose. Agrippa and the chief men of the nation were afraid of involving themselves by accusing Florus in form; and the king, finding that the multitude was disposed rather to suffer a war than submit to him whom they thought a tyrant over them, endeavoured to intimidate them, by remonstrating how vast a disproportion there was between their forces and those of the Romans. This is pretty nearly the purport of a long speech which Josephus says he made to the people assembled, and which he concluded by protesting that he would not take any sort of concern in their quarrels, if they resolved to rush on to inevitable ruin. Berenice was present at this speech, and seconded it with her tears.

The people answered, that they did not make war against the Romans, but against Florus. 'You 'war against the Romans, replied Agrippa, in not 'paying to Cæsar the tributes that are due to him, 'and

'and in having broken down the gallery which join-'ed the temple to fort Antonia.' The people were sensible of the justice of this reproach, and, to make amends for it, they began immediately to rebuild the gallery they had demolished; and the magistrates and senators went to all the neighbouring towns to raise forty talents, being the arrears of the tribute they were to pay the Romans. But it was not possible to get the better of the obstinacy of the Jews with respect to Florus. When Agrippa endeavoured to prevail on them to obey that intendant, at least till the emperor should send another in his stead, they flew into a violent passion against their king, and peremptorily bid him leave their city; some of the seditious even went so far as to throw stones at him; upon which Agrippa, finding he could do nothing with them, and justly incensed at the outrages of an insolent mob, retired to his own dominions, the greater part of which lay near the head of the river Jordan, and on the other side of it.

But cannot persuade them to submit to Florus.

Agrippa's retreat left the factious at full liberty; whereupon they threw off the mask, and openly declared against the Romans. Eleazar, son of the high-priest Ananias, a bold audacious youth, and at that time captain of the troops that guarded the temple, persuaded the ministers of the sacrifices not to receive the offerings of any foreigners. Now, it was customary to offer up every day a sacrifice for the Romans, founded by Augustus, as we before observed. The priests, in consequence of Eleazar's instructions, refused the victims offered for that sacrifice, and by so doing they broke entirely with the Romans, and failed in their duty as subjects.

The seditious refuse the victims offered in the name of the Romans.

The chief men among the Jews were alarmed at this step, of which they foresaw the fatal consequences. They endeavoured to bring back by reason the seditious, who departed so widely from what their duty required of them; and having assembled

The chiefs of the nation, after striving in vain to bring back the seditious, implore the assist-

ance of Florus and Agrippa against them.

assembled the people, 'What mean you,' said they, 'what would you be at? Your forefathers, far from 'rejecting the sacrifices of any man whatever, the 'doing of which is impious, have adorned this 'temple with the gifts of foreigners, and thought 'they added to its lustre by consecrating in it 'the monuments offered them by the kings and 'princes of all nations; and you, out of an inconsi-'derate zeal, as mistaken as it is dangerous, refuse 'the offerings of those under whose power and autho-'rity you live! You rob this temple of the very 'thing in which great part of its glory consists, and 'would have the Jews be the only people amongst 'whom strangers are forbidden all acts of religion! 'If it was only against private persons that you 'introduced this new law, it would even then be 'a schism contrary to humanity. But to cut off 'Cæsar and the Romans from all communication 'with your worship, is it not renouncing the pro-'tection of their empire? Take care you do not, 'by refusing to offer up sacrifices for them, force 'them to disable you from ever offering up any 'for yourselves. Think rather on your own 'weakness and their strength, and put a stop to 'these insults before those whom you insult are 'informed of them.'

The seditious, who wanted war, were no way moved by these remonstrances; and they were the prevailing party among the people, easily imposed upon by a false zeal for religion. The great men, chief priests and first of the senate, resolved therefore to separate their cause from that of these furious madmen, and to apply a violent remedy, by calling in foreign assistance against their fellow-citizens. Accordingly they sent to Florus and Agrippa, desiring troops to enable them to quell the mutinous.

To create disturbance and confusion among the Jews was the very thing which Florus aimed at. He saw the war kindled to his satisfaction, and therefore

therefore remained quiet, and returned the deputies no answer. Agrippa thought differently. He loved the Jews, and was attached to the Romans; he wanted to preserve to the one their temple and capital city, and to the others a fine province. He likewise judged that a war in Judea could be of no service to him, and justly apprehended that the contagious spirit of rebellion might spread to the country under his command. He therefore granted what was requested of him, and sent three thousand horse to Jerusalem.

Intestine war in Jerusalem between the great men and wiser part of the people on one side, and the seditious on the other. The latter prevail.

The great men, and wiser part of the people, with the help of this reinforcement, seized upon the upper city; for Eleazar and his faction were masters of the lower city and the temple. Jerusalem became from that moment a bloody field of battle between her own citizens, who were perpetually butchering each other. After several days of continual fighting, the factious at last got the better; and having driven their adversaries out of the greatest part of the upper city, they burnt the archives, records, and place where all deeds between debtors and creditors were kept; and thereby drew over to their party all the vile populace, thus discharged from their debts without paying them.

The conquered retired to Herod's palace, near which the Romans left by Florus to guard the city were encamped. There they had some respite for two days, during which the seditious were busied in besieging and forcing the tower Antonia. They burnt it, and massacred all the Roman garrison; so that all Eleazar had to do, to be master of the whole city, was to take the post to which the remains of a party already worsted by him had retreated. He laid siege to it, and was greatly assisted therein by a new reinforcement he received.

Castle Masada, * strongly fortified by Herod,

* This important place was situate on the south side of the lake Asphaltites.

and well provided with arms and provisions, had been lately taken by surprise, by a band of the factious who followed the maxims of Judas the Galilean. They had butchered the Roman garrison, and made that fortress their arsenal and place of retreat. Manahem, son of that same Judas, went thither, well accompanied, and ordering the stores to be opened, wherein were arms for ten thousand men, he distributed them among the robbers that followed him, and those he had collected up and down the country; after which he returned to Jerusalem at the head of his band, with all the pomp and magnificence of a king, and was acknowledged chief of the whole faction.

He took upon him the conduct of the siege begun by Eleazar; and as he had not engines to batter the walls, he undermined a tower, which fell with a terrible crash. He then thought himself victorious; but the besieged, suspecting the enemy's design, had built up a new wall within, behind which they took shelter when they found the tower was falling; and by the help of that barrier they were enabled to desire to capitulate. Manahem made a distinction among them. He granted honourable terms to Agrippa's troops and the Jews of Jerusalem, but would give the Romans no quarter. The latter could not possibly hold so bad a post, unassisted as they were; for which reason, whilst their allies were evacuating the castle in consequence of their capitulation, they retired to three towers built by Herod, called Heppicos, Phasael, and Mariamne. The conquerors killed some of the stragglers, plundered the baggage, and set fire to the palace and camp. This happened on the sixth of the month Corpiæus, which answers nearly to our month of September.

Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 6. and ii. 17.

The prosperity of the seditious produced discord among them. Manahem grew so proud that none could bear him, and Eleazar could not see himself eclips-

eclipsed without jealousy. The latter exhorted his friends to shake off an odious yoke: and as Manahem was entering the temple, surrounded by his guards, Eleazar, with a body of armed men, attacked him on a sudden. He was assisted by the people, who thought to destroy tyranny by destroying the tyrant. Manahem's troop was oppressed by numbers: many were left dead upon the spot, and some fled, among whom was Eleazar son of Jairus, who retired to Masada, and kept possession of that strong fortress till the end of the war. Manahem hid himself, but was soon discovered and put to death, with several of his chief followers.

Horrid perfidy of the seditious towards the Roman garrison.

The people soon found their mistake. Those who had killed Manahem wanted not to put an end to the war, but to have the sole management of it themselves: accordingly, though the citizens in general begged them not to molest the Romans, who had shut themselves up in the three towers before mentioned, they seemed but the more bent on attacking them with redoubled fury, and in a short time reduced them to such extremity of distress, as to think themselves happy if they could but obtain their lives and liberty to leave Jerusalem. Metilius, who commanded the besieged troops, made the proposal, which was greedily accepted by their treacherous enemies, fully determined at the same time not to keep their word. The Romans left the towers in consequence of the faith pledged to them, and likewise left their swords and bucklers behind them according to agreement; Eleazar then fell upon them with his men, and massacred them all but Metilius, who promised to turn Jew, and even to be circumcised.

So horrid a treachery cut off all possibility of reconciliation, which was what the factious aimed at. But the pacific part of the people, and the chiefs of the nation, detested a deed so contrary to the laws of God and man, and which, to render it

completely wicked in every respect, was committed on the sabbath-day. They looked upon vengeance as inevitable, and lamented the fatal necessity they were under, of sharing the punishment of those whose crime they abhorred.

The Jews of Cæsarea extirpated. Jos. de B. Jud. ii. 19.

On the same day, and at the same hour, the Jews of Cæsarea were totally extirpated by the idolaters among whom they lived. That bloody execution was the consequence of their former quarrels, of which I have spoken; and we may reasonably suppose that Florus, who was on the spot, did not fail to promote and encourage a cruelty so agreeable to his aversion against the Jews. Twenty thousand of them were slain: those that escaped the sword, were arrested and put in prison by the intendant's order, and not a single Jew remained in Cæsarea.

All Syria filled with slaughter by the battles between the Jews and the Syrians.

This massacre incensed the whole nation, who resolved to take revenge on the towns and villages of the Syrians. The Jews, forming themselves into several small armies, carried fire and sword every where. The Syrians, as we may readily conclude, did not suffer themselves to be butchered without trying to defend their lives. Every town of Syria was accordingly divided into two camps, each of which waged implacable war against the other. Greediness of spoils and plunder was added to cruelty and detestation, as always happens in such cases. Murderers enriched themselves by robbing those they killed; and so strongly did that lawless spirit prevail, that all the streets and public places were covered with dead bodies of men, women, and children: a sight more horrid than even that of a field of battle after a bloody action. Four cities only in all Syria took no concern in the quarrel, but remained quiet: these were, Antioch, Sidon, Apamæa, and Gerasa.

Cypros and Macherontum taken from the Romans.

At the same time the seditious made themselves masters of Cypros, a strong castle built by Herod above Jericho, and demolished its fortifications

and

and the inhabitants of Macherontum, a place of great importance, which Pliny calls the second citadel in Judea after Jerusalem, prevailed on the Roman garrison to leave their city without fighting, by which means they remained sole possessors of it. Plin. v. 16.

It was by a series of such insufferable violences that the Jews at last drew on a war with the Romans. Cæstius was obliged to take the field himself when he saw the whole nation running to arms. He took with him the flower of his legions; to which he added the auxiliary troops that were furnished him by Antiochus of Commagena, Soëmus of Emesa, and Agrippa, neighbouring kings, the last of whom accompanied him in person, and they entered Judea together. Cæstius opened his way to the metropolis without much difficulty; he took and destroyed Joppa, the inhabitants of which attempted to resist, and encamped within fifty stadia of Jerusalem, while the Jews were celebrating their feast of the tabernacle. Jerusalem besieged by Cæstius. Jos de B. Jud. ii. 22. Six miles.

They sallied out boldly, and attacked the Romans so briskly and so suddenly, that they broke their ranks, and endangered their whole army. However, they formed again, and drove the Jews back to the city; but the Romans lost five hundred and fifteen men in the first onset, and the Jews only twenty-two. Simon, son of Gioras, of whom we shall have but too much occasion to speak hereafter, distinguished himself greatly in this action.

Cæstius remained three days in the same post, during which the Jews still kept between him and the avenues to their city. They likewise took possession of high grounds which commanded the passes, where they were ready to pour down upon the Roman army at a moment's warning. Agrippa perceived their drift, and sent deputies to them with overtures of peace, hoping thereby to extricate the Romans from a situation which to him seemed

very dangerous, and to prevail on the Jews to lay down their arms; or at least to breed such divisions between the seditious and the people of Jerusalem as should effectually weaken them. Agrippa's deputies having delivered their message, and offered the Jews, in Cæstius's name, a general amnesty for all that had passed, if they would submit and open the gates of their city to him; the only answer the seditious returned was, to kill one of the deputies, wound the other, and disperse with clubs and stones the people that could not help exclaiming against so manifest a violation of the most sacred laws. Cæstius, seeing how much his enemies were divided among themselves, thought that a most favourable opportunity to attack them. Accordingly he marched all his forces out to give them battle, routed and pursued them to Jerusalem, and posted himself within seven stadia of that city.

He misses several opportunities of taking the city.

There he remained quiet three days,—doubtless, in order to reconnoitre the place, and make the necessary dispositions for an assault. On the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberatæus, the first month of autumn, he advanced to the foot of the walls. The people were held as it were captive by the seditious, who, notwithstanding their audaciousness, were terrified at the near approach of the Roman army, fled from the suburbs, and shut themselves up in the temple. Cæstius burned the quarter called Bezetha; and had he pursued his advantage whilst the enemy was so dismayed, he might have taken the city, and put an end to the war at once. Instead of that, he remained in a state of inaction, misled by some of the officers of his army bribed, if we may credit Josephus, by Florus, who was not for having the war end so soon; but, on the contrary, wanted to make the Jews more and more criminal by the length and obstinacy of their resistance.

This

This general seems to have had no great genius. A plot was formed in the city to open the gates to him. He was told of it; but, instead of improving so fine an opportunity, he gave the seditious time, by his delays, to discover the conspiracy, and put the authors of it to death.

After storming the city five days to no effect, he at last penetrated on the sixth day to the north gate of the temple, and had scarce any thing more to do but to set fire to it. The seditious were so terrified that they thought of leaving Jerusalem, which they saw was in imminent danger of being taken; whilst on the other hand the people, who began to breathe again, and no longer to dread their wicked oppressors, called out for the Romans, and prepared every thing to facilitate their entrance. Cæstius, again unaccountably blind, sounded a retreat, and, condemning his enterprise as impracticable, at the very moment when he might have accomplished it, he raised the siege, and retired back to the camp he was in some days before, seven stadia off the city. Josephus thinks that a conduct so contrary to all the rules of human prudence, could not be natural. He searches deeper for the cause of it. God, says he, * offended at the crimes of our fathers, had taken an aversion to his sanctuary, and would not suffer too easy a victory to let it subsist.

The Jews pursue him in his retreat.

Cæstius's cowardice gave the seditious courage. They pursued him in his retreat, and killed some of his rear-guard. The Roman general could not get the better of his fears from that moment till he arrived at Antipatris, a city at a considerable distance from Jerusalem. Incessantly harassed on his march by the enemy, whose number increased with their success, and still flying before them, he thought proper,

* Διὰ τὰς πονηρὰς ἀπεστραμμένος ὁ Θεὸς ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἅγια, τέλος λαβεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρας ἐκώλυσε τὸν πόλεμον.

per, in order to make the more haste, to kill his mules and most of his beasts of burden, and even to leave behind him all his engines of war, which the Jews carried off, and of which they made great use when they were besieged by Titus. Cæstius lost near six thousand men, both horse and foot, and one of his eagles, in the several skirmishes during his retreat. In short, the Jews gained completely a victory which might have been his if he would. Josephus dates the return of the conquerors to Jerusalem on the eighth of the month Dius, being the second month of autumn.

Suct. Vesp. 4.

Though this success might elate the seditious, and fill them with vain conceits, yet every man of sense in Jerusalem foresaw that the taking of the city was only deferred for a little while, and that the anger of the Romans, heightened by their shame, would soon fall upon the Jews with redoubled fury. These considerations determined numbers of them to fly from Jerusalem, as from a ship just ready to sink. Josephus mentions in particular three men of distinction who fled for shelter to Cæstius.

Numbers of Jews fly from Jerusalem.

The Christians were forewarned by means far above the reach of human prudence. Jesus Christ had foretold them, that when they should see the holy place filled with idols, they would not have a moment to lose, but should fly from a city upon which the Almighty was preparing to pour down his vengeance.

The Christians leave it, and retire to Pella. Bossuet. Univ. Hist.

The Christians who were in the city, seeing the idols of the Romans appear at the foot of the walls of Jerusalem among the standards of Cæstius's army, concluded that the time spoken of by their divine Master was come. Accordingly, taking advantage of their liberty to leave the city, the siege being raised, they retired to Pella, a town of Peræa, east of Jordan.

Euseb. Hist Eccl. lib. 5.

Cæstius undertook nothing further against the Jews. Busied with such reflections as his own dan-

Complaints made to Nero against Florus.

ger

ger suggested to him, and, fearing to incur the prince's displeasure by his defeat, he readily granted the Jews, who fled to him for shelter, leave to go to Nero in Achaia, and lay before him their reasons for making war, and, if they thought proper, to impute all the blame to Florus. Cæstius flattered himself that, by offering that victim to the emperor's wrath, he should the more easily be able to screen himself from the resentment he dreaded. Jos. de B. Jud. ii. 25.

The Jews employed the respite which Cæstius suffered them to enjoy, in making the necessary preparations to carry on the war. The council of the nation, residing at Jerusalem, chose Joseph, son of Gorion, and the high-priest Ananus, to command in the city. Eleazar, son of Simon, chief of the factious, aspired to that post. He had distinguished himself in the pursuit of Cæstius, and had got great plunder thereby; but he was, not without reason, suspected of tyrannical designs, and was therefore excluded. He succeeded, however, so far by his delusive insinuations, and by the use he knew how to make of the riches he had got, as to assume over the people an authority to which he had been denied a lawful title. The council of the Jews allots every one his department. Josephus sent into Galilee.

The council appointed other commanders in the several districts of the Jews, such as Idumea, Jericho, and Peræa. Galilee was intrusted to the care of Josephus the historian. He tells us nothing of what his colleagues did, but says a great deal of himself: a specimen of his vanity, of which many instances may be found in his works. But that is no reason why we should slight what is useful and interesting in the account he gives of his government and exploits. I shall extract such passages as seem to me the most fit to please and instruct the reader.

His behaviour was such as speaks a man of more than common prudence. His first care was to make himself beloved by those that were to obey him. Well knowing that the way to gain the affections Josephus's wise regulations with regard to civil and military affairs.

of

of the chief men of a country, is to admit them to a share of power, and that the people are likewise pleased with being governed by magistrates chosen from among their own countrymen, he created a council of seventy elders to inspect the affairs of Galilee in general, and decide all important concerns. Things of less moment were determined on the spot by a tribunal of seven judges instituted by him in each city; and he reserved to himself none but great causes, and such as life or death depended on.

Such was the civil order which he established; nor did he take less prudent measures to prepare against the war which the country was menaced with. He fortified a great many places, and enlisted all the young men of Galilee, to the amount of an hundred thousand soldiers. But he did not employ all that multitude at once in the military service. One half went to the war, while the other remained behind in the cities and towns, where they were employed in providing for the subsistence of their comrades in the field.

Josephus, well knowing that courage alone is not sufficient to make good troops, and that valour must be directed by discipline, took example from the Romans, and endeavoured to form his Galileans after their model. The two great points in which the Roman armies excelled their enemies were, their ready obedience to their commanders, and their skill in the exercise of arms. Josephus had observed that a multiplicity of officers contributed greatly to make the soldiers obey more readily and more easily. He therefore increased the divisions of his troops, and consequently the number of their commanders. With regard to their exercise, though he did not expect to equal the long experience of the Romans in that respect, yet he neglected nothing that was in his power to accustom his troops, by frequent lessons, to know and duly attend

to

to the signals given them, to perform all the evolutions necessary in battle, either to attack or to defend; and he accompanied these lessons with strong exhortations, wherein he constantly reminded them what enemies they had to deal with, and how necessary it was for them to exert their utmost abilities, if they hoped to conquer those who had conquered the world.

He likewise undertook to banish from among them those vices which too generally prevail in armies, and which at that time raged violently among the Jews. He often told them, that he should judge of the degree of service he might expect from them in battle, by the care they should take to abstain from their usual crimes, theft, larceny, and plunder; by their ceasing to think it lawful to cheat and defraud their companions; and by their being convinced that the ruin of those whom it was their duty to protect and defend, was not a gain to them. * 'Wars, added he, are never more successfully carried on than when the 'soldiers engaged in them have pure and upright 'hearts; for those who are loaded with vice and 'sin, make not only man, but God too, their 'enemy.'

Josephus himself set his men an example of that moderation and meekness with which he exhorted them to behave. Though then but thirty years old, neither pleasure, voluptuousness, nor thirst after riches, had the least ascendancy over him. He respected the chastity of women, refused the presents that were offered him, and would not take even the tithes which were due to him as priest; and though he had frequent opportunities of being revenged

* Διοκεῖσθαι κάλλιστα τὰς πολέμους παρ' οἷς ἂν ἀγαθὸν το συνειδὸς ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατευομενοι· τὰς δε οἴκοθεν φαυλους, ὐ μονον τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἐχθροῖς ἀλλα και τῷ Θεῷ χρῆσθαι πολεμιῳ. Jos. Vit.

revenged on those whom envy and jealousy made his enemies, he chose rather to silence and win them over by mildness and benefactions.

John of Giscala, an enemy to Josephus, thwarts him greatly. Character and history of that wretch.

The most dangerous of those enemies was John, born at Giscala, a town of Galilee; for which reason historians have surnamed him John of Giscala. This man, whom we shall soon see one of the chief instruments of the woes of Jerusalem, is described by Josephus as the most double and perfidious of mortals, a fabricator of lies, and dangerously skilful in varnishing them over with an appearance of truth. With him artifice was a virtue, and he made use of it even against those who ought to have been dearest to him. Cruel and blood thirsty, he concealed the blackness of his soul under a feigned mildness, till hope of gain unmasked him. He was originally poor, and his indigence confined for a long time within narrow bounds the mischief he was capable of doing; but even then he had a most inordinate ambition, and thought nothing too high for him to aim at. His first setting out in life was as a robber on the highway, and in that noble profession he formed a band which by degrees increased to the number of four hundred, all strong desperate fellows, long inured to murder and every crime; for such he purposely chose them, and would admit of none who had not given proofs of the wickedness they were capable of doing. At the head of that band he over-ran Galilee, adding all the horrors of ruin and devastation to the trouble and confusion already occasioned by the near approach of war.

When Josephus first took upon him the command of that province, he was ignorant of the wicked disposition of John of Giscala, and looked upon him as a man whose boldness and activity might be of singular service to him at that time. The latter took advantage of the favourable opinion that commander had conceived of him. He wanted

money

money to bring about the ambitious views in which he otherwise made no doubt of succeeding. He prevailed on Josephus to commission him to fortify his native country Giscala, and under that pretence raised exorbitant contributions, the greatest part of which he took care to sink. Besides that, he obtained an exclusive grant of the sale of all the oil of Galilee for the use of the Jews of Syria, who by that means were freed from the disagreeable necessity of buying oil made by the impure hands of idolaters. Galilee abounded in olive trees, and they had produced great plenty that year. John had accordingly an extraordinary vent for his oil, by which he made a profit of seven hundred per cent.

It was not long before he turned the vast riches he had amassed by these means against his protector, to whom he was indebted for them. He endeavoured to supplant Josephus, in hopes of succeeding him in the command of Galilee. He ordered his bands of robbers to renew their incursions and devastations with greater rage than ever; hoping that of two things one might happen, either to surprise and kill Josephus in some ambuscade or other, in case he should go in person to quell the disturbances; or, if he remained quiet, to have an opportunity of calumniating him for his neglect of the public safety. At the same time he made his emissaries artfully report that Josephus had a private understanding with the Romans. In short, he succeeded at last so far as to spirit up several seditions against him, made whole cities revolt, and put him several times in danger of his life. Josephus stood in need of all his presence of mind, skill, and prudence, and of all the love and affection which his good conduct had gained him from the people, to escape the snares of John Giscala, and preserve his life. The reader may consult what he himself says on this subject; a particular detail of which

which would deviate from the design of a general history like this.

Nero commits the care of the Jewish war to Vespasian. Tac. Hist. v. 10. Jos. de B. Jud. iii. 1.

Cæstius dying in this interval, perhaps of grief for his unfortunate expedition, the government of Syria was given to Mucian. But the Jewish war required a particular commander, who should make it his only study. That care was committed to Vespasian, without subjecting him in any manner to the governor of Syria. I have said before what were the reasons that induced Nero to make this choice.

Vespasian assembles his army at Ptolemais.

Vespasian, having received his orders, immediately despatched his son Titus to Alexandria, there to put himself at the head of the fifth and tenth legions, whilst he crossed the Hellespont, and went from thence by land, first to Antioch and then to Ptolemais, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his army. Thither he marched the fifteenth legion, which was joined by twenty cohorts, several regiments of horse, the auxiliary troops furnished by the kings Agrippa, Antiochus of Commagena, Soemus of Emesa, and Malchus the Arabian; and, on Titus's arrival with the two legions from Alexandria, Vespasian's army consisted of sixty thousand men.

Suet. Vesp. 4.

Vespasian established a strict discipline among his troops; and by that prudent precaution, which is always the first care of a good general, he made his allies, and even his enemies, respect and esteem him.

He enters Galilee. A. R. 818.

He took the field in the year of Rome 818, of Christ 67; and the first thing he set about was to reduce Galilee, a province full of strong towns, which covered Jerusalem. He was already master of the capital of that country, Sephoris, a very important and well-fortified place. The inhabitants of that city had not entered at all into the general conspiracy against the Romans, but had even contracted engagements with Cæstius. The moment they

they knew of Vespasian's arrival at Ptolemais, they sent to assure him of their fidelity; promising to serve the Romans against their own countrymen, and desiring him to assist them with a sufficient number of troops, to enable them to act without fear. Vespasian, sensible of the advantage of their proposal, embraced it gladly, and sent them six thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of the tribune Placidus. That officer was not content with barely securing the city committed to his care against the assaults of the rebels, but he made incursions, and laid waste all the flat part of the country in such a manner, that Josephus, who, as I said before, commanded for the Jews in Galilee, did not dare to meet him any where. He made, however, an attempt upon Sephoris, but, miscarrying in it, only incensed the Romans the more, who, to be revenged for what they thought an insult offered them, filled the whole country with such slaughter, confusion, and horror, that none dared to show their heads without the walls of the cities which Josephus had fortified.

Placidus, finding the country struck with fear and terror, flattered himself that the cities might likewise be intimidated, and accordingly he appeared before Jotapata, the strongest place in Galilee. He met with greater resistance there than he expected. The garrison sallied out briskly, and taught him not to aim so high. He retreated, however, in such good order, that he lost but seven men, and had only a few wounded.

In the mean time Vespasian, leaving Ptolemais, arrived with all his forces on the frontiers of Galilee, where he stopped some time to try whether the sight of a Roman army ready to enter their country would not intimidate the rebels, and incline them to repent. They were affrighted indeed, but not sufficiently to take that warning. Josephus was encamped near Sephoris with a body of troops, how numerous

numerous he does not say. They were seized with such a panic, that almost all of them fled, not only without fighting, but even before they had seen the enemy. From that hour Josephus conceived a bad opinion of the success of the war, and, being unable to keep the field with the few men he had left, he retired to Tiberiades.

By this means Vespasian was left to war against only the cities of Galilee, and not a battle was fought during his expedition. He took Gadara by storm, and though the inhabitants had made no resistance, he put them all to the sword, at once to strike terror upon the whole country, and set such an example of severity as should deter others. After exterminating the people of Gadara, he set fire to the place, and likewise burnt the neighbouring towns; after which he marched towards Jotapata.

Siege of Jotapata.

The road thither being very mountainous and full of rocks, difficult even for the foot to pass, and quite impracticable by his horse, he detached part of his troops to level it. In four days time they opened a wide and convenient way for the army. On the fifth, Josephus threw himself into the place, resolving to defend it to the last extremity.

Not that he hoped or expected the war to end well. He foresaw, as I before said, what the event of it must be, and was thoroughly satisfied that submission was the only means that could possibly save his country. He likewise knew that for his own part he should find favour from the Romans; but he chose rather, as he tells us, to expose himself to a thousand deaths, than betray his country and the trust reposed in him. Full of these reflections, he had already written from Tiberiades to the general council of the nation at Jerusalem, giving an exact account of the state of affairs, without magnifying or diminishing any thing, to avoid equally all imputation of cowardice, or being taxed with giving those to whom he wrote a higher opinion of them than was consistent

consistent with truth, by which their ruin might be hastened on. It seems as if Josephus had not received any answer to that letter, when he threw himself into Jotapata.

Vespasian was glad to hear that the commander of Galilee, whom he looked upon as the enemy's best general, had shut himself up in a city just going to be besieged. As soon as he knew it, he sent the tribune Placidus, and another officer, with a thousand horse, to invest the place, and prevent Josephus from escaping. The next day Vespasian went with his whole army to form the siege.

Josephus, who commanded in the city, has taken great care to give an exact account of this siege. I should gladly transcribe it from him, but that his description is longer than is consistent with the plan of this work; for which reason I hope my readers will be content with a general idea of it.

The siege lasted seven and forty days, during which time it wore several different faces. The Roman general tried at first to storm the city, and carry it by vigorously and suddenly assaulting it every day. After that, finding the besieged bent on resistance, he hoped to overcome their obstinacy by cutting off their supplies of water; and with that view he converted the siege into a blockade; during which he nevertheless continued the necessary works to draw nearer to the body of the place, and reduce it by main force, if there should be occasion. At last losing patience, and piqued at the enemy's audaciousness, which seemed to increase from his inaction, he returned to his former assaults, battered the walls with his rams, and made a breach in them; notwithstanding which, it was by a kind of surprise that he at last made himself master of the city. I ought not to omit mentioning, that Vespasian was wounded in this siege by a lance thrown from the walls, and that he prevented all the trouble and consternation which that accident would

have filled his troops with, had it been immediately known, by the patience and resolution with which he bore the pain, and still persisted to head his soldiers.

Josephus acquitted himself of all the duties of a good governor of a besieged place; he encouraged his men as much by his own example as by his exhortations; he put in practice every resource that the art of war could suggest against the different kinds of assaults which the city sustained; he preserved a communication with the outworks; made frequent and vigorous sallies; destroyed and burnt the engines of the besiegers several times, and deceived them as to his want of water by a stratagem. Though he had none but what the cisterns afforded, and was obliged to make much even of that, and to measure it out to his men, he ordered a quantity of clothes to be drenched in it, and hung on the outside of the walls, from whence the wet trickled down. The Romans, not conceiving it possible that he could waste water in that manner if he was in the least danger of wanting it, renewed their attacks, to the great satisfaction of the besieged, who chose rather to die bravely in battle than to pine and languish under the miseries of famine.

It is pity that so brave and fine a conduct should be sullied by any blemish. Josephus, too sensible of the danger he was in if the city should be taken by storm, thought of making his escape when he found it could not hold out much longer; and would have effected it, if the multitude, who had some intimation of his design, had not used the strongest arguments to dissuade him from it. 'You are our 'hope,' said they to him, 'so long as the city holds 'out, and our comfort, if it must at last be taken. 'It is equally unbecoming you either to fly be'fore your enemies, or to forsake your friends. 'You have restored our courage by coming here;

'by

'by going from hence you would rob us of it all.' Such entreaties ought to have made him renounce a resolution he never should have formed. But he still persisted in his design, and even attempted to make the inhabitants of Jotapata believe that he could do them more service when out of their city. They were not to be deceived by fair promises; and Josephus was forced to remain among them.

On the forty-seventh day of the siege a deserter went over to the Romans, and informed them that the besieged were reduced to a small number, quite worn out with fatigue, and that towards the end of the night, the guards, wearied and tired, generally fell asleep; so that it would be very easy to surprise the city at that time. Vespasian was pleased with the intelligence, and ordered his son Titus, at the head of a good body of troops, to draw silently up to the walls towards the fourth watch of the night. Titus was the first that scaled them, and was soon followed by numbers of officers and soldiers, who, finding the guards asleep, entered the city without resistance, and made themselves masters of it in a moment. They opened the gates to the army, who had only to kill and plunder. The Romans would not have lost a single man in the taking of Jotapata, if a centurion called Antony had not imprudently listened to the speeches of a Jew, who, whilst he was pretending to beg quarter from him, ran him through the body with his sword. The conquerors slew all that were able to bear arms, sparing none but women and children. Twelve hundred were made prisoners, and, according to Josephus, forty thousand were killed during the siege, and at the time of taking the city. When the Romans had plundered every thing of value, Vespasian ordered them to set the place on fire. Jotapata was taken on the first of the month Panæmus, which answers pretty nearly to our month of July.

Jotapata taken.

Josephus discovered in a cave where he had hid himself.

I am again surprised, and concerned for the honour of Josephus, not to see him make his appearance any where at the dreadful time of the taking of a city of which he was governor; and to find him at last, when the affair was quite over, hid in a cave to which he had fled for safety. He had taken great care to avoid the enemy at the first beginning of the tumult, and finding a deep well, through one side of which there was a communication with a large and spacious vault, he had crept in there, and hid himself, with forty men whom he found there, well provided with all manner of necessaries and provisions. As he knew the Romans were in quest of him, and wanted greatly to have him in their power, he ventured out two nights running, in hopes of finding some means or other to escape and get to some town or city in Galilee. But so strict a guard was kept that he could not succeed, and was forced to return to his subterraneous refuge. The third day a woman who had likewise taken shelter there was seized by the Romans, and discovered his retreat; upon which Vespasian immediately sent two tribunes to offer him his life, if he would surrender.

He surrenders, inspired so to do, as he says, by a divine impulse.

Josephus was unwilling to trust to those promises, and Vespasian condescended to solicit him again strongly, by a third tribune, called Nicanor, an acquaintance and friend of his, who demonstrated to him, that if the Roman general wanted his life, it was in his power to take it; but that he esteemed his virtue, and had no other design than to save a worthy man, whom he would be sorry to have perish. Josephus hesitated still; on which the soldiers that were with Nicanor, losing patience, threatened to shut up the cave, and light a great fire at the mouth of it. Josephus says, he recollected at that instant the dreams by which God had revealed to him the future calamities of the Jews, and the succession of Roman emperors which was to ensue;

ensue; and in support of this story, he boldly pretends to an extraordinary skill, not only in interpretating the ancient oracles of his nation, but likewise dreams and mysteries, under which God is sometimes pleased to couch the truths which he reveals. He was seized, he says, with a supernatural enthusiasm, and privately offered up this prayer to God: 'Great God! since thou hast determined to punish 'thy people, since fortune is entirely on the side of 'the Romans, all that remains for me to do is to 'declare what thou hast decreed shall happen, as 'thou hast revealed it to me. I submit to the Ro'mans; I consent to live; and take thee to witness, 'that I do not separate from my nation as a traitor, 'but in obedience to thy command.' After this prayer, in which Josephus might as well have let fortune alone, he told Nicanor that he would follow him.

Fury of those that were in the cave with him.

But the fury of those who were in the cave with him was very near preventing his keeping his word. They were all desperately resolved rather to die than accept of life from the Romans; and when they found Josephus inclined to surrender, all of them surrounding him at once cried out, 'This is surely the greatest shame that ever could 'befal the laws of our forefathers, those holy laws 'established by God himself, who has given the 'Jews souls above the servile fear of death. Are 'you then so fond of life, Josephus, that you can 'think of bartering your liberty for it? Is it pos'sible you should forget yourself so far? Do you 'not remember how many Jews have been indu'ced by your exhortations to prefer death to ser'vitude? No; you never did deserve those praises 'which have been given to your courage and pru'dence. Would a prudent man trust himself in 'the hands of his enemies? Would a brave man 'accept of life from them, even if he were sure of 'preserving it? If the fortune of the Romans has

'dazzled your eyes, it is incumbent on us to main-
'tain our country's glory. We offer you our arms
'and swords. Consent or refuse; it is equal. The
'only choice you have left is, whether you will
'die as general of the Jews, or as a traitor.' So saying, they drew their swords, and held them ready to stab him if he surrendered to the Romans.

Notwithstanding the imminent danger he was in, Josephus still persisted in his resolution; not, if we credit what he says of himself, to preserve his life, but because he thought he should sin against God, if he died before he had fulfilled the prophetic mission he then was charged with. He therefore made a long speech to his furious countrymen, and endeavoured to move their hard hearts by philosophic arguments, as he calls them. He told them what impiety and ingratitude towards God self-murder implied. 'If a man,' said he, 'misapplies or sinks
'a treasure committed to his trust by another man,
'he is unjust; and shall he who robs his own
'body of the treasure God has placed in it, as in
'trust, be deemed guiltless?' He told them, that the joys and happiness of heaven were the reward of such as wait the will of God to render up their souls to him; but that hell was the punishment of such wretches as laid violent hands upon themselves. The happiness which Josephus promises to the good is full of Pythagorean ideas, suitable to the doctrine of the Pharisees. He supposes that the souls of the just, after dwelling in the highest heaven during a certain space of time, are remanded back to earth, to animate pure and chaste bodies. He ended his long arguments with declaring that he was determined not to be a traitor to himself; and that if he must be killed, some other should commit the crime, for he would not.

His speech served only to incense still more men whose blind rage made them deaf to reason. They were

were on the point of killing Josephus, and pressed him on all sides, sword in hand; but still a sentiment of duty and respect for their general kept their blows suspended.

They kill one another; and Josephus, being delivered from them, surrenders to the Romans.

In the midst of this danger, Josephus, despairing of being able to surmount their obstinate rage, took a most dangerous step, though the only one he could at that time; trusting the event to the mercy of the Almighty. 'Since,' said he, 'we are all resolved 'to die, let us at least avoid an odious and criminal execution, and not lay each man under the 'fatal necessity of destroying himself. Let us 'draw lots. He on whom the first lot falls shall 'be killed by the next, and so on, till all are killed. 'Thus we shall all die, and no one will have been 'guilty of imbruing his hands in his own blood.' The proposal was approved of; and, whether it was accidentally, or by the immediate interposition of Providence, says Josephus, it so happened, that only himself and one more were left, whom he prevailed on to trust to the promises of the Romans. Accordingly they both surrendered to Nicanor, who, with the soldiers that attended him, had waited patiently to see the end of this extraordinary adventure. Nicanor carried him to Vespasian.

Pretended prophecies of Josephus. Vespasian receives and treats him well.

This romantic tale needs no comment. It is pretty well matched by his pretending to prophesy that Vespasian would be emperor. I said enough of that before; and shall only add here another of his predictions likewise verified by the event. He tells us, that he foretold the inhabitants of Jotapata, that the siege of their city would last forty-seven days, at the end of which it would be taken; and that, as to himself, he should be made prisoner by the Romans. But it is time to leave such idle stories, and proceed to facts. Josephus, countenanced and protected by Titus, whose generous soul knew how to esteem merit, even in an enemy,

ceived the best of treatment from Vespasian, barring his being still kept in arms.

During the siege of Jotapata, Vespasian took another city of Galilee, and dispersed a very numerous body of Samaritans who had got together.

Japha taken by the Romans.

Japha, a city not far from Jotapata, elated by the resistance of her neighbours against the Roman arms, behaved with an audaciousness unbecoming her small strength. Trajan, who commanded the tenth legion, was sent to chastise her with two thousand foot and a thousand horse. He soon made himself master of the first enclosure, for Japha had two walls, one within the other; and those who had retreated within the second, having shut the gates of it for fear the enemy should enter pell-mell with their fellow-citizens, such as had the misfortune to be enclosed within the two walls, were cut to pieces, to the number of twelve thousand. Trajan, desirous to let his general's son have the honour of taking the place, sent Vespasian an account of the situation of things; and he, in consequence thereof, gave Titus a thousand foot and five hundred horse to put an end to that affair. The inner wall of Japha was scaled and the town taken; all that were able to bear arms were put to the sword, and the women and children made prisoners.

They cut to pieces the Samaritans assembled on mount Garizim.

The Samaritans had assembled on mount Garizim; and though they committed no hostilities, their numerous meeting gave room for suspicion. Vespasian ordered Cerialis, who commanded the fifth legion, to march against them with three thousand foot and six hundred horse. Cerialis arriving at the foot of the mountain, did not think proper to attack directly enemies who had the advantage of ground over him, but surrounded them, and threw up trenches all around. This was towards the end of the month of December, which in that country is the end of spring; and the heat beginning already to be very great, was extremely troublesome to the

Samaritans,

Samaritans, who were forced to remain on the top of a dry barren mountain, having but few provisions, and, above all, suffering from want of water. Numbers died of thirst, and others went over and submitted to the Romans. Cerialis, learning from them how great the distress of the rest was, thought it time to march up to them. He offered them their lives if they would lay down their arms; and, on their refusal, he attacked them, and killed eleven thousand six hundred.

The two exploits I have been speaking of happened a few days before the taking of Jotapata. Vespasian having at last made himself master of that city, thought it was but just to give his troops some rest after so obstinate a siege; and accordingly he sent them into quarters, some at Cæsarea, and others at Scythopolis.

Joppa taken and destroyed.

He was not, however, quite inactive during that time; for having learned that a troop of robbers, who had repaired the ruins of Joppa destroyed by Cæstius, had turned pirates and over-ran the sea with a number of small vessels, plundering every thing along the coasts, he sent a detachment of horse and foot to rout them out of their lurking places. The moment the Romans appeared they fled to their ships; but a storm which came on prevented their escaping the punishment they justly deserved. The road before Joppa is very bad, exposed to the north winds, and full of shoals and rocks. The pirates, endeavouring to escape, were driven back by the wind, and either wrecked upon the rocks or sunk; or, if any got a shore, they fell into the hands of the Romans, who gave them no quarter. Above four thousand of them perished on that occasion. Joppa was demolished a second time, and Vespasian left a garrison in the castle to keep the country in awe.

After

Vespasian marches against Tiberiades, the gates of which are opened to him.

After this expedition, more important than difficult, Vespasian, being invited by king Agrippa, went to Cæsarea in Philippi, near the head of the river Jordan, and there spent twenty days in feasting and rejoicing. Besides the general reasons which Agrippa had to pay his court to him, he had likewise a particular one. Tiberiades and Tarichæa, two of the most considerable cities of his dominions, were not thoroughly well affected to him; and he wanted Vespasian to bring them to a proper sense of their duty. The Roman general, whose interest it was to lessen the forces of the rebels, was easily prevailed on to grant Agrippa's request. He sent for the troops he had left at Cæsarea in Palestine, and joining them to those that were at Scythopolis, immediately marched towards Tiberiades.

That city, as well as most others of Galilee and Judea, was divided into two factions; one of which was for war, whilst the other, consisting of the citizens and most prudent part of the inhabitants, was for submission and peace. The latter were the strongest when the Roman army approached; and though the factious had begun with attacking a detachment sent to reconnoitre them, the other party which inclined to peace, having before-hand obtained, by Agrippa's means, a promise of being well treated, opened the gates to Vespasian, who kept his word, preserved the city from being plundered, and let the walls remain untouched.

He takes Tarichæa. Titus's clemency.

Tarichæa was not so easy a conquest. The factious of Tiberiades, and those of all the neighbouring country, had shut themselves up in it, being a well fortified place, and had a great number of barks ready on the lake Genesareth, which washed the city walls, either to make their escape in, if they were beat by land, or to fight upon the water, if there should be occasion.

Their

Their audaciousness was very great. One of their parties ventured to attack the Romans who were forming a camp within sight of the city. As they were not at all expected, their first onset disturbed the pioneers, part of whose works they filled up: but they could not resist the legions, who pursued them to their ships.

Another body, much more numerous, drew up in order of battle on the plain; and Titus marching towards them with six hundred chosen horse, found their posture so good, and their reliance on their number so great, that he thought proper to send for a reinforcement; whereupon Vespasian ordered four hundred horse and two thousand archers to join him; Trajan and another officer being at their head. Titus having received these additional forces, immediately fell upon the enemy, and, with the help of his superior discipline and good order, easily broke and routed a tumultuous troop, supported only by an impetuous and ill-conducted ardour. He could not, however, prevent numbers of those that fled from getting back to the city, though he endeavoured to intercept them in their flight. But their defeat ruined them entirely in the opinion of all the inhabitants that wished for peace, who then ventured to exclaim loudly against the factious.

Discord arose within the city, and broke out in such loud menaces and clamours as were heard beyond the walls. Titus immediately concluding that to be the proper time to attack the place, mounted his horse, and appeared before the walls on the side next the lake. Tarichæa was in the utmost confusion at the sight of the Romans. Of the most furious, some fled, whilst such as were forced to stay put themselves in a posture of defence: the inhabitants remained quiet, judging they had nothing to fear from the Romans, against whom they never intended to revolt. They were not deceived. The moment Titus was master of the city, he separated the

the innocent from the guilty, and, putting the latter to the sword, confirmed the former in the full enjoyment of their lives and properties.

As soon as Vespasian was informed of the taking of Tarichæa, he went thither, highly pleased with the success his son had had, and the honour he had gained. To complete the victory, he set about driving that nest of robbers from the lake to which they had fled in great numbers, covering it with their barks, and seeming rather disposed to attack, if they had an opportunity, than to fly to the opposite shore. In effect, they waited there till Vespasian had built a little fleet, and when his ships offered them battle they accepted it, and fought most desperately. Not a man of them escaped, but all perished, either by the enemy's sword or in the water. The number of those that were killed in this and the former battle amounted to six thousand five hundred.

Near forty thousand infamous wretches killed, or sold by Vespasian, contrary to the promise made them.

Tarichæa had been for some time the asylum of all the evil-minded turbulent people of the countries round about, of whom near forty thousand were in it when taken, all expecting to enjoy the benefit of Titus's pardon to the inhabitants of that city. Vespasian held a council of war, to consult what was most proper to be done with such a multitude of men, whom he could neither leave there without endangering the peace and safety of the place, nor dismiss without a manifest hazard of their returning to their former seditious courses, robberies, and other outrageous deeds. On the other hand, humanity and common justice forbade treating as enemies those who had voluntarily submitted upon a solemn promise of forgiveness. Sacred and important as this consideration was, the officers of which the council was composed were not swayed by it. Hating and despising the Jews beyond all measure, they said they deserved neither [illegible] nor justice, and that even right ought, upon that occasion,

occasion, to give way to what was useful and beneficial. Vespasian yielded to their sentiments, and even went so far as to add treachery to inhumanity. On an apprehension that the Tarichæans would probably interest themselves in the fate of those wretches, the latter were ordered out at the gate leading to Tiberiades, and put into the * *Stade*, where all the old men, and such as were unfit for service, to the amount of twelve hundred, were killed by Vespasian's command. He then singled out six thousand of the most robust, whom he sent to Nero, in Achaia, to work at the isthmus. The rest, being upwards of thirty thousand, were sold. This bloody and treacherous execution ill became Vespasian, than whom no man was more sensible that † war has its laws as well as peace, and that great souls value justice full as much as they do bravery. This happened, according to Josephus, on the eighth of the month Gorpiæus, the third month of summer.

He completes the conquest of Galilee. John flies from Giscala to Jerusalem. Jos. de B. Jud. iv. 1.

The taking of Tarichæa struck such a terror upon all Galilee, that all the remaining cities, towns, and fortresses of that country, immediately submitted to the Romans, except Gamala ‡, a town opposite to Trachæa, on the other side of the lake, which they took by storm. Mount Itabyrius, or Thabor, likewise stopped them some time, being defended by a troop of rebels. Giscala surrendered, after that John, who had made himself the tyrant of that place, had fled from thence to Jerusalem, in the manner I shall now relate.

This was the last town in Galilee that held out against

* A place where they used to wrestle, run races, &c.

† Sunt et belli, sicut pacis, jura, justèque ea non minùs quàm fortiter didicimus gere. *Tit. Liv.* v. 27.

‡ Gamala was not a part of Galilee, since it was beyond the river Jordan and the lake Genesareth, but was leagued with the rebel Galileans: and Josephus, governor of Galilee, reckoned it among the places under his command.

against the Romans. It was originally but a village, the inhabitants of which were only peasants, who had not the least idea of war. John went thither with a troop of his robbers, and, as we before said, with Josephus's leave, fortified and made it a strong place, and kept up the spirit of rebellion in it to the last.

Nothing could well be more rash than such an undertaking; for John was so far from being able to support his audaciousness, that when Titus arrived with only a thousand horse, he could easily have forced the town if he had pleased. But that generous warrior, weary of shedding blood, and pitying the unhappy fate of the innocent, who must in that case be confounded with the guilty, drew near the walls, and endeavoured to win them by gentler means. 'How can you think,' said he to those that crowded the ramparts, 'alone to with-'stand the power of the Roman arms, when you 'see that every other town in Galilee has been for-'ced to yield? Have you not been sufficiently warn-'ed by the examples of your countrymen, some 'of whom have brought the most dreadful disasters 'upon themselves by their obstinate resistance; 'whilst others, who have trusted to our clemency, 'enjoy their lives and fortunes under our protection? 'I make you the same offers, without desiring 'to take revenge on your hitherto untract-'able perverseness. To endeavour to preserve 'liberty is pardonable; but obstinately to per-'sist in striving at impossibilities deserves no 'favour.'

Titus's exhortations availed nothing, for John had taken care to keep all the inhabitants from the walls and gates, and none but his own creatures and satellites were suffered to appear. He was however thoroughly sensible how vain his resistance would be, and accordingly resolved to deceive Titus if he could. He made answer, that he accepted his offers

fers with pleasure, and would, either by persuasion or by force, make the most mutinous of his people do the same; but desired a day's time to effect it, because it was not lawful for the Jews to conclude a treaty, any more than to touch arms, on their sabbath, which they were then celebrating. John's design was to make his escape during that interval: and he succeeded therein, says Josephus *, because God reserved him to be the instrument of the punishment and destruction of Jerusalem. This, adds he, was the real cause why Titus gave credit so easily to the speeches of that impostor, and retired to some distance from Giscala, drawing towards Cydæssa, a small town belonging to the Tyrians, the inhabitants of which were at perpetual enmity with the Galileans. John laid hold of this opportunity to make his escape during the night; taking with him not only numbers of armed men, but whole families, women, and children. As such a troop could not march fast, he soon thought proper to leave them; and went on before with all the speed he could, regardless of the cries and tears of those he so treacherously forsook.

The next day Titus appeared again before the walls to conclude the treaty. The inhabitants opened their gates to him with the utmost joy and readiness, blessing him for having delivered them from their tyrant, whose flight they informed him of. Titus was vexed to find he had been so deceived, and immediately sent a party of horse in pursuit of the fugitives, whom they overtook, killed six thousand of them, and brought back near three thousand women and children. John escaped, and got safe to Jerusalem.

Titus

* Θεοῦ δ' ἦν τὸ ἔργον ἄρα τοῦ σώζοντος Ιωάννην ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμων ὄλεθρον, τὸ μὴ μόνον πεισθῆναι Τίτον τῇ σκέψει τῆς ὑπερθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως πορρώτερον στρατοπεδεύσασθαι πρὸς Κυδοισσοις. *Jos. de Bello Jud.* iv. 4.

Titus ordered his soldiers to make a breach in the wall, through which he entered, as into a town taken by storm. In other respects he behaved with the utmost clemency; for though a great many of the ringleaders of the rebellion still remained in the place, he chose rather to pardon all without distinction, than to give room for odious informations, in which personal malice and resentment generally has a greater share than reason and love of justice. He took care, however, to leave a sufficient garrison in Giscala, to intimidate such as might be inclined to stir. Thus was the conquest of Galilee completed in one campaign: after which, Titus returned back to Vespasian, who had fixed his winter-quarters, with two legions, at Cæsarea. The tenth legion wintered at Scythopolis.

He increases the troubles and confusion of that city, and makes the inhabitants still more obstinately bent on war.

The ease with which Galilee was subdued ought to have been a farther warning to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and have made them foresee the fate their unhappy city was to expect: but their rage and blindness increased with their dangers. The arrival of John of Giscala with his handful of harassed followers made many reflect seriously, and justly dread the event. He, with his wonted audaciousness, laughed at their prudent fears; and priding himself on what could not but redound to his eternal infamy, 'I have not fled from the Romans,' said he, 'but am come here to seek a post, 'which will afford me an ample field to war against 'them. It is madness to think of wasting our 'strength to defend Giscala, and such like paltry 'places, when we ought to reserve it for the me'tropolis of our nation.' He spoke of the Romans with the utmost contempt, and insisted strongly on the resources the Jews still had left. 'See,' said he, 'what fatigue and trouble the Romans 'have met with only from the poor huts of Ga'lilee. It was with the utmost difficulty that they 'made themselves masters of Jotapata, after a siege

'of seven and forty days. What would they do, 'should they dare to appear before Jerusalem? If 'they had wings to fly, they could not reach the 'summit of our walls.' With such vain boastings did he inflame the minds of the young people, and make them still more obstinately bent on war. Wiser men saw how weak and empty his pretences were; but all they could say signified nothing.

Besides its own factious inhabitants, Jerusalem was overrun with multitudes of turbulent men, who flocked thither from all parts of Palestine. As the Romans gained ground, and pushed on their conquest, such as could escape from them, and were fond of trouble and confusion, had no other place to fly to but the capital city, the gates of which had been always open to every Jew that came; and particularly at that time, all who pretended the least zeal for the defence of their holy city were received with joy. The least inconvenience attending the reception of that multitude with which Jerusalem was thronged, was the number of useless mouths that consumed the provisions of which the fighting men stood in need.

Rapine, violence, and cruelty of the factious.

It was not till some time after that this evil was felt; but, in the mean while, such rapines, outrages, and murders, were committed, as made that city look like a den of thieves. Even the first of Jerusalem felt the effects of the cruelties of the wretches who domineered in it. They arrested publicly several persons of great distinction, among whom were three of the royal race, and murdered them in prison. Their pretence for committing so odious a violence was a charge of treason, and intelligence with the Romans. Under colour of avenging the wrongs of Jerusalem, they became the tyrants and oppressors of that unhappy city.

Such outrageous violences struck terror on the people, but at the same time filled them with such just indignation as wanted only the countenance of

a proper leader to show itself. They found one in the person of Ananus, an ancient high priest, who had been made governor of Jerusalem at the beginning of the war, and whose wisdom and courage Josephus extols highly on this occasion. These zealots (for that was the name which these abominable wretches gave themselves, pretending that it was for the sake of religion that they committed the most horrid crimes) were sensible of the danger that threatened them. They foresaw that so immense a multitude as the people then were could not but be very formidable to them, when united under the command of a skilful and well respected chief. For this reason, they chose the temple for their place of safety, and made it the fortress of their tyranny; thereby openly declaring themselves enemies to God himself, whose sanctuary they profaned and trampled on, after having violated all the laws of men.

They take the name of Zealots, and make themselves masters of the temple.

To this sacrilege they added another impiety, in choosing by lot for their high-priest one Phannias, descended, indeed, from the race of Aaron, but a clownish illiterate man, brought up in the obscurity of a village, and hardly knowing what the dignity of high-priest meant: a mere theatrical personage, of whom they made a tool to answer their ends; forcing him to lend his name to countenance their villanies, without suffering him to enjoy the least share of authority: nor had he sense or spirit enough to attempt to assume any.

This daring insult offered to religion raised the indignation of the people to its utmost height. Their priests and rulers backing them, and mingling with the crowd, exhorted the multitude to take up arms against those oppressors of their liberty, those profaners of all that was most sacred. The people listened to them with pleasure and attention; but still hesitated, on account of the difficulty of the undertaking. They were afraid they should not

not be able to dislodge from such a fortress as the temple so numerous a troop of robbers, hardened in guilt, determined to stick at nothing, and whose desperate audaciousness was increased by their knowing that all hope of pardon was absolutely cut off from them.

Ananus's speech to the people against the zealots.

At last Ananus rose up in a general assembly of the people, and turning his eyes, full of tears, towards the temple: 'How gladly would I have 'died,' said he to them, 'rather than see the house 'of God polluted by such horrors; that sacred 'place prophaned by the impure footsteps of the 'most wicked of men! Even yet it would be some 'comfort, if I could but hope to find in the 'people who now hear me a remedy for such 'dreadful evils. But I see them all insensible of 'their own calamities, and influenced only by fear. 'You are robbed and plundered, and you bear it: 'you are struck, and yet say not a word: not one 'of you is bold enough even to pity openly the 'innocent blood you every day see shed. No; I 'blame the tyrants less than I do you, whose in-'dolence has hardened them, and lent them power 'to act. They were but few at first: it is your 'too easy security that has increased their number. 'Their first attempts were against your houses, 'which they plundered. None of you stirred, or 'attempted to resist; upon which they grew bold-'er, and next attacked your persons. You have 'seen not only men of distinguished birth and 'merit, but your fellow-citizens too, dragged igno-'miniously through the streets, thrown into prisons, 'and loaded with chains, without even the appear-'ance of accusation or sentence against them: and 'yet not one of you has dared to espouse their cause. 'What could be expected to be the consequence 'but punishments and death? Accordingly, you 'have seen it happen; and just as the fattest vic-'tims are chosen from amongst a flock, so our ty-

'rants have first sacrificed the greatest men of the 'nation. Their audaciousness, promoted and en- 'couraged by success, is now so unbounded, that 'they scruple not to insult God himself. You see 'them impiously profane his sacred temple, and 'from that place, the strongest and most exalted 'of the city, as well as the most holy in the world, 'impose the yoke of bondage on you. What far- 'ther outrages must they commit to rouse you 'from this lethargy? They have heaped up their 'measure of iniquity; their crimes cannot be 'greater; and if those they have already com- 'mitted are not sufficient to awake you, nothing 'can.

'What is the motive that inspires you to war 'against the Romans? Is it not love of liberty? 'That precious sentiment, so becoming every 'brave and generous soul! and will you then, 'who refuse to submit to the masters of the whole 'world, consent to become the slaves of your own 'countrymen, and endure from them such treat- 'ment as strangers would never think of inflict- 'ing on you?

'Compare the conduct of them both. Your temple is adorned with the offerings of the Ro- 'mans; and your own countrymen strip it of the 'monuments of your ancient victories. The Ro- 'mans respect your laws, and presume not to go 'beyond the threshold of the holy place; whilst 'these upstart tyrants make that very temple their 'place of arms, and rush into it with hands still 'reeking with the gore of your murdered brethren. 'You are striving to guard against enemies from 'abroad, whilst your greatest and most inveterate 'foes live in the midst of you, and lay siege to 'your sanctuary.

'Arm, arm then, boldly, and fear not either 'their number, much inferior to yours; their au- 'dacíousness, unable to resist the reproaches of

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'their own guilty consciences; or the advantage
'of the post they have taken, the protection of
'which most certainly belongs, not to such impious
'wretches as they are, but to the avengers of vio-
'lated holiness. Show yourselves, and they are
'demolished. Even though you should be expo-
'sed to some danger, what can be more desirable,
'more worthy of your ambition, than to die be-
'fore the sacred gates, fighting for your wives and
'children, for God, and his holy temple? I offer
'you all the assistance my head and arm can give:
'my advice shall direct you, and, if there be oc-
'casion for it, my person too shall run the same
'hazard as you.'

The people, animated by this speech, declared their readiness to abolish the tyranny of their oppressors. Ananus enlisted the crowds that offered, armed them, formed them into companies, and prepared to attack the zealots. The latter prevented him by sallying out. The fight was obstinate. One side was supported by its numbers; the other by its boldness and skill in arms. At last the zealots, overpowered by the multitude of their enemies, who increased every moment, finding themselves unable to resist, were forced to abandon the outer court of the temple, and retire to the second, the gates of which they shut as quick as possible. Ananus did not think proper to push his victory farther. Besides the dangers attending an assault, the holiness of the place forbade any such attempt. He did not dare to lead on soldiers stained with blood to the inner parts of the temple. He therefore proceeded no farther than to block up the zealots, leaving a guard of six thousand men to secure the entrances of the first court.

The people take arms, and force the outer court of the temple.

Such was his respect for the temple, that he was still desirous to try what pacific means could do. He wanted, if possible, to avoid the hard necessity of staining that sacred place with the blood of his

countrymen. He therefore sent to make them overtures of peace; but was greatly mistaken in the choice of his ambassadors.

Treachery of John of Giscala. The zealots call in the Idumeans to their assistance.

John of Giscala, who had private connexions with the zealots, had taken care to seem all this time a friend to the people; and, as is the usual way of traitors, affected greater zeal and warmth than even those whose attachment was most sincere. He would not leave Ananus day or night, but boldly thrust himself into every council, fulsomely flattering all that were in authority. By that means he became acquainted with all their designs, of which he did not fail to inform the besieged. Ananus finding his designs were always known to the enemy, concluded there must be some treachery, and suspected the man who betrayed himself by his over great zeal. But it was by no means an easy task to supplant John of Giscala, whose party was very powerful in the city. Ananus thereupon forced him to take his oath; and that wretch, who looked upon perjury as nothing, swore inviolable fidelity to the interests of the people. Ananus was weak enough to believe him; and, falling into an error, inexcusable in any man at the head of great and weighty affairs, he put a confidence in him whom so many concurring circumstances ought justly to have made him suspect, and pitched upon him to carry the zealots overtures of peace and reconciliation.

John, being introduced into the temple, instead of proposing peace, did all he could to blow up the flames of war. He said, 'That Ananus having 'gained over the people, had sent messengers to 'Vespasian to invite him to come and take posses-'sion of the city: That he had ordered his troops 'to purify themselves, that they might be quali-'fied the next day to enter the temple by fair 'means or by foul: That if he made overtures 'to the zealots, it was with no other view than to

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'lull them asleep, and surprise them unawares. 'He insisted strongly on their having done too 'much to be able ever to expect a sincere reconci- 'liation; and concluded with telling them, that 'their ruin was inevitable, if they did not find 'means to procure some foreign assistance.'

The zealots took John's advice, and resolved to apply to the Idumeans, a neighbouring nation, extremely turbulent, glad of any opportunity to take up arms, fond of war, and who, since they had embraced the Jewish religion, were as strongly attached to the temple and holy city as the Jews themselves. These considerations determined the zealots to send two deputies to the Idumeans with a letter; the substance of which was—'That Ananus 'had seduced the people, and wanted to betray 'Jerusalem to the Romans: That, for their parts, 'determined as they were to defend their liberty 'to their latest breath, they had separated them- 'selves from that traitor, who held them besieged 'in the temple: That if the Idumeans did not 'hasten to their assistance, the defenders of the 'Jewish nation must fall into the hands of Ananus 'and their enemies, and the city become a prey 'to the Romans.' The deputies, who were very ardent and dexterous, were instructed to particularize their situation, and urge matters as strongly as they possibly could.

They easily succeeded in their negociation. The chiefs of the Idumeans having read the letter, and heard the deputies, flew into a violent rage, and issued a proclamation, inviting all their nation to take up arms. Their numbers soon amounted to twenty thousand fighting men, which they marched straight on to Jerusalem.

Ananus, whose vigilance seems not to have been over great, knew nothing of this insurrection of the Idumeans till they arrived. He ordered the gates of the city to be shut immediately, and the walls to

be well guarded. He did not, however, commit any act of hostility against them; but, wishing rather to bring them over by argument and persuasion, he sent Jesus, one of the high-priests, to the top of a tower facing their army to harangue them. The Idumeans prepared to hear the Jewish orator, who spoke to them as follows:

Speech of the high-priest Jesus to the Idumeans, to dissuade them from their alliance with the zealots.

'If you were like those to whose assistance you 'come, I should be less surprised than I am. But 'what can be more astonishing than to see a whole 'nation, a fine and flourishing army, espouse the 'cause of a handful of seditious wretches, worthy 'of a thousand deaths, and undertake their de-'fence? Your zeal for the holy temple is what 'brings you here; whilst those whose party you 'embrace are at this very instant defiling it 'with their cruelty and debauchery; rioting in 'that sacred place, and sharing there the bloody 'spoils of their murdered brethren.

'I am told that they accuse us of treason, and 'of holding a correspondence with the Romans. A 'less weighty reason could not have induced you 'to take up arms against a people united to you 'by the common ties of religion. But what 'proofs are there of the crime laid to our charge? 'It is interest only that makes them call us guilty. 'Whilst they had nothing to fear, none of us 'were deemed traitors. That odious name has 'been given us only since they find they cannot 'escape the punishment justly due to their offences. 'No! If the charge of treason will lie against any, 'it much better suits our accusers, to complete 'whose crimes that guilt alone was wanting.

'What then is the most becoming and most wor-'thy use you can now make of your arms? Surely 'it is to employ them in the service of the me-'tropolis of your religion, and to punish those 'wretches who have dared to impose upon your 'too easy belief, in calling on you to defend them,

'whilst

'whilst they ought to dread your vengeance. If, 'however, your respect for the engagements you 'have contracted with them be such as prevents 'your punishing them as they deserve, you may 'at least with propriety take another step, which 'is, to lay down your arms, come into the city as 'friends and allies, and arbitrate the differences 'between the zealots and us. Judge how favour- 'ably we are willing to treat them, since we con- 'sent to give them full liberty to answer in your 'presence the crimes with which we charge them; 'they, who have so inhumanly murdered the 'chiefs of the nation, without the least show of 'justice, or even suffering them to be heard in 'their own defence. If you will neither join with 'us, nor become arbitrators of our disputes, re- 'main neuter; and do not add to our misfortunes, 'nor side with the oppressors of Jerusalem, and 'the prophaners of its holy temple. If neither 'of these three alternatives pleases you, be not 'surprised to find the gates of a city, to which 'you declare yourselves enemies, barred against 'you.'

So just and sensible a speech made no impression on the prejudiced Idumeans. They were highly offended at the refusal to receive them into the city, and still more so at the proposal made to lay down their arms, if they chose to come in. One of their chiefs answered Jesus with such arrogance as plainly showed him that all hopes of pacification were at an end. Whereupon that pontiff retired, grieved to the soul to see the city besieged on both sides at once, and threatened by the zealots within, and the Idumeans without the walls.

He cannot prevail on them.

In the mean time the auxiliary army grew dissatisfied with the inaction of those who had called them to their assistance. The Idumeans had expected to find a powerful party ready to second them, and to let them into Jerusalem; but perceiving that the

The Idumeans, being introduced by the zealots into the city and temple, murder numbers of the people.

the zealots did not dare to stir beyond the first court of the temple, many of them repented their coming, and would have returned home had they not been ashamed. A storm which happened in the night increased their uneasiness. It rained, hailed, lightned, thundered, the earth shook, and all nature seemed unhinged. Besides their being exposed to the violence of the tempest, and what they suffered by having no shelter but their cloaks, which they wrapt about them, and their bucklers, which they held over their heads, fear of having incurred the wrath of Heaven disturbed their very souls, and they concluded that God condemned their enterprise.

It was, however, to that very circumstance that their success was owing. The Jews within the city, taking that violent storm for a mark of the Almighty's approbation, thought themselves so secure that they grew more remiss in keeping guard. Their negligence gave some of the zealots an opportunity to steal out of the temple in the night in the midst of the hurricane, and, getting to one of the gates facing the Idumeans, they opened it, and let them into Jerusalem.

The Idumeans immediately ran to the temple, and joined the zealots, to attack their besiegers. They met with no great resistance from a guard, part of which was fast asleep, and the rest frightened out of their senses at the sight of a multitude of new enemies, so suddenly joined to their old ones. The city troops, alarmed by the bustle, ran to assist their comrades, but were as easily defeated. The Idumeans had little more to do than to kill them; and as they were naturally cruel, and incensed at having been refused admittance into the city, and forced, in consequence thereof, to bear all the violence of a dreadful storm in the open fields, they gave quarter to none, but put all they met with to the sword. The slaughter they committed was by

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so much the greater, as flight was impracticable in a place hemmed in on every side. All the outer court of the temple swam with blood, and when day appeared, upwards of eight thousand dead bodies were found in it.

The two high-priests Ananus and Jesus killed by the Idumeans.

The Idumeans, being masters of the temple, overran the city, plundering and killing whoever they pleased. The first victims of their rage were the two high-priests Ananus and Jesus, and, not content with taking their lives, they insulted them ignominiously after their deaths, and refused to bury their bodies.

Josephus laments bitterly the death of Ananus, whose great qualities and good conduct would, according to him, have infallibly saved Jerusalem had he lived. Ananus, says he, was a lover of peace; he knew how impossible it was to surmount the power of the Roman arms; and, by dint of persuasive eloquence, would have prevailed on the Jews to submit, whilst the defence he was capable of making would have induced the Romans to grant them better terms*. But God, adds that historian, had pronounced sentence of condemnation on a polluted guilty city. He had decreed that the holy place should be purified by fire; and, in order to accomplish his just designs on the city and temple, he removed and took from this world such as were uprightly and sincerely attached to them both.

So says Josephus, who was, however, ignorant of the real cause of God's displeasure against the Jews. Ananus was by no means a fit instrument to disarm the vengeance of the Almighty. He was son of the high-priest Ann †, who was concerned in the murder

Jos. Ant. xx. 8.

* Ἀλλ' οἶμαι κατακρίνας ὁ Θεος ὡς μεμιασμένης της πολνως ἀπωλειαν, και πυρι βυλόμενος ἐκκαθαρθῆναι τα ἅγια, τὺς ἀντεχομενυς αὐτῶν και φιλοτοργῦντας περιέκοψεν. *Jos.*

† Ann is likewise called Ananus in Josephus. But it is not probable that he should have lived to the time here spoken of,

murder of Jesus Christ, and proved himself the true offspring of such a father, by the murder of the apostle James the minor, whose extraordinary sanctity was revered by all Jerusalem. Ananus was a Sadducee, and consequently had neither hope nor fear of a future state; and though Josephus extols him highly on this occasion, he taxes him elsewhere with being overbearing, cruel, and vindictive.

Cruelties committed by the zealots and the Idumeans. Jos. de B. Jud. v. 1.

The zealots and Idumeans made a great slaughter of the people. But, above all, they wreaked their inhuman vengeance on the young nobility; some of whom they would gladly have brought over to their side. They filled the prisons with them, and then sounded them one by one, striving to make them proselytes. Josephus says, they all chose rather to die than have any connexion with the enemies of their country. So great was the rage and fury of the zealots, that, after making them suffer the most cruel tortures, they at last granted them death as a favour. Twelve thousand were murdered by the zealots in that manner within a few days, according to that historian.

Judgment and death of Zacharias, son of Baruch.

Though it ill became such wretches to pretend to observe any form of justice, yet they took into their heads to proceed with some show of regularity against Zacharias, son of Baruch, a rich man, fond of liberty, an enemy to the wicked, and whose fortune and virtue were the objects of the zealots' cupidity and hatred. They erected a tribunal of seventy judges, chosen from among the chiefs of the people, and brought Zacharias before them, charging him with having carried on a plot to betray the

and still less so, that an old man, upwards of fourscore, should have had sufficient strength and vigour to go through the functions of governor of that city. These reasons have induced M. de Tillemont to think that the pontiff Ananus, whom the Idumeans killed, was son of the high priest mentioned in the gospel, and the same that Josephus speaks of, B. xx. of his Antiquities, c. 8.

the city to the Romans. They had not the least proof of what they alleged, but, boldly asserting the fact, insisted on being believed on their bare words. Zacharias, finding that his doom was resolved, and that he had no hope of obtaining justice, spoke with a freedom becoming a great soul. He treated the vague accusations of his enemies with all the contempt they deserved, and showed, in few words, how unjust and absurd they were. After which, addressing himself to his accusers, he laid before them the whole series of their iniquitous attempts, deploring the misfortunes of his country, and the dreadful confusion which reigned every where. The rage of the zealots on this occasion may be more easily imagined than described. They went, however, through the farce they had begun, and let the judges pronounce sentence. They acquitted him with one voice, and to a man chose rather to perish with the innocent than be guilty of his death. The zealots, incensed to the highest degree, expressed their indignation by a loud cry; and two of their ringleaders, falling instantly on Zacharias, massacred him in the middle of the temple, saying, with an insulting air, 'We give you our 'suffrages too; now you may be sure you are ac-'quitted.' After killing him, they threw his body down the precipice on one side of the mountain on which the temple was built. As to the judges, they were satisfied with driving them out, being glad to have witnesses to publish their tyranny throughout the city, thereby to strike terror on its inhabitants.

M. de Tillemont thinks, with several interpreters of the scriptures, that the event I have been speaking of is that to which Christ alluded, when he spake of Zacharias, son of Baruch, as slain by the Jews between the temple and the altar. In that case, the words of Christ were prophetic, and fully verified by the event. If that be granted, no doubt can

Matth. xxiii. 35.

can be made but that Zacharias was a Christian; and the same M. de Tillemont observes, that it is no way necessary to suppose that not one Christian remained in Jerusalem.

The Idumeans find they have been deceived by the zealots, and accordingly leave Jerusalem.

The Idumeans, whose blind rage had carried them great lengths, but who were not, however, so hardened in guilt as the zealots, were struck with horror when they found to what excess of wickedness they had associated themselves. Somebody, Josephus does not say who, confirmed them in these sentiments, and represented to their chiefs, that they had no way to wipe off the stain they had contracted by entering into a league with such infamous wretches, but by breaking from them immediately and retiring. That was but a poor satisfaction for the cruelties and injustices they had been guilty of. They should have joined the people they had so much contributed to oppress, and have delivered them from their bloody tyrants. But men rush headlong into evil, and seldom do good but by halves. The Idumeans contented themselves with setting the prisoners at liberty, to the number of about two thousand, and returned back to their own country.

Further cruelties of the zealots. Horrid oppression of the people of Jerusalem.

The zealots were glad to see them go; looking upon them no longer as allies, whose assistance they lost, but as spies, whose presence was an awe and check upon them. When left to themselves they grew more insolent, their audaciousness knew no bounds, and they continued to persecute and destroy all the people of distinction that gave them umbrage. They murdered Gorion, a man of high birth and rank, and eminently zealous for the liberty of his country; and Niger, a brave officer, who had signalized himself in several battles against the Romans, and to whom these barbarous assassins refused even common burial. Among the people they hunted out all such as they thought they had any reason to distrust; and the least pretence was sufficient to authorize their deadly suspicions. If

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any one omitted speaking to them, they set him down as proud; if he spoke with freedom, they deemed him an enemy. Whoever, on the other hand, paid court to them was called a flatterer, and taxed with harbouring bad designs. Nor did they make any distinction between great faults and small ones; death was the punishment inflicted on all alike. In short, none were sheltered from their rage but such as were unnoticed by reason of their obscurity.

So cruel a tyranny made multitudes of Jews resolve to fly from the city, and seek for safety among their enemies; but that flight was dangerous. The zealots posted guards on all the roads and passages; and whoever had the misfortune to fall into their hands was sure to lose his life if he had not plenty of money to give them: he that had none was a traitor, whose death alone could expiate his infidelity. Most of them weighing one danger with another, chose rather to abide within the city walls, and die in the bosom of their country.

Vespasian lets the Jews weaken themselves by their intestine broils. Jos. de B. Jud. iv. 5. v. 2.

During the whole winter Vespasian remained a quiet spectator of the feuds and disturbances by which the Jews were ruining themselves. He only took Jamnia and Azot; but did nothing in the least tending to menace Jerusalem itself, though all his chief officers pressed him to take advantage of the enemy's divisions, and lay siege to their capital. 'Let them,' said he to those who wanted him to attack Jerusalem, 'let them murder and destroy 'one another. God* is the best manager of our 'affairs; without our meddling in it he is prepa-'ring us an easy victory. Our attacking them, 'under their present circumstances, would make 'every party unite against us; whereas the rage 'with

* Στατηγεῖν μεν γαρ ἄμεινον αὐτῶ τον Θεον, ἀπονητι Ιουδαιους Ρομαιοις παραδιδόντα, και την νικην ἀκινδύνως τῇ στρατεᾳ χαριζομενον. Jos.

'with which they are now bent on extirpating 'each other, is a diminution of their national 'strength. We may hope to conquer them with- 'out drawing our swords; and I have always 'thought a* conquest gained by prudence and 'good conduct preferable to one obtained by dint 'of arms.'

He persisted in that resolution; and, notwithstanding the entreaties of the Jews who made their escape from Jerusalem, begging and conjuring him to save the remains of a wretched people, to revenge the deaths of those who had suffered for their attachment to the Romans, and protect from the same impending danger such as still preserved the same sentiments, amidst all the perils they were threatened with, he took the field in the beginning
A. R. 819. of the year of Christ 68, being the last of Nero's reign, not to march against the capital, but to subdue Peræa, saying, he must first quiet the places and countries that were still in arms, and by that means remove every difficulty that might obstruct or retard the success of the siege of Jerusalem.

Gadara, capital of Peræa, taken. Total reduction of that country.

Accordingly, he crossed the Jordan, and advanced towards Gadara, the capital of Peræa, where he knew that he had friends. That city contained a great number of rich inhabitants, who, having much to lose, feared war, and wished for peace; and who, for that reason, had sent deputies to Vespasian, promising to open their gates to him. But all in Gadara were not of that mind; the factious who were there, as perverse as those of the rest of Judea, not having been able to traverse a negotiation which they were ignorant of, nor to frustrate its effect when they were informed of it, because the Romans were already on their march, resolved at least to be revenged on the author of it.

Accordingly,

* Τῷ διὰ των ὅπλων σφαλερῷ το μετ' ἡσυχίας κατορθωμα λυσιτελέστερον. *Jos.*

Accordingly they seized on Dolæsus, whose birth and merit gave him the first rank among the inhabitants, and, after killing him, and treating his dead body with ignominy, they fled from the city. The Gadarans, becoming their own masters by the retreat of the factious, received Vespasian with a thousand joyous acclamations, and, of their own accord, beat down their walls, to prove their fidelity beyond all possibility of doubt, and put it even out of their own power ever to change again. Vespasian gave them a Roman garrison to secure them in that defenceless state against any attempts of the rebels.

Gadara having submitted, the rest of Peræa was not worth Vespasian's staying for. He returned to Cæsarea, thence to direct the general conduct of the war, and left the tribune Placidus in Peræa, with three thousand foot and six hundred horse, to chastise the robbers, and complete the reduction of that country. He pursued those that had fled from Gadara, and forced the town of Bethennabris, to which they had retired. Several of them escaped, however, and alarmed the whole country. A multitude of peasants got together, resolving to cross the Jordan, and take shelter in Jericho. But that river happened to be so swelled by heavy rains that there was no possibility of passing it, and Placidus coming up just at that time, drove the raw undisciplined troop to the very brink of the water. Though they were very numerous, three thousand six hundred men defeated them entirely. Fifteen thousand Jews were slain on the spot; a much greater number was forced into the Jordan, and the lake Asphaltites was covered with dead bodies, which swam on the surface of its waters. Placidus finished the conquest of Peræa by reducing all the towns and castles that were of any consequence; and the whole country, the fortress

of Macherontum excepted, submitted to the Roman laws.

All Judea subdued, except Jerusalem and three fortresses held by the robbers. Jos. de B. Jud. v. 4, 6, 8.

Vespasian was at Cæsarea when he learned Vindex's insurrection against Nero. The news of that event determined him to hasten on the end of the Jewish war. As the West began to be disturbed by commotions, the consequences of which might be long and fatal, he thought it of the utmost consequence to pacify the East, and prevent, if possible, the joint concurrence of a foreign and a civil war. Employing, therefore, the winter in securing the places he had already conquered, by putting strong garrisons in them, he left Cæsarea with all his troops towards the beginning of the spring; his chief view being the siege of Jerusalem, for which he prepared, with a firm resolution immediately to cut off all hopes of succours from that obstinately rebellious city.

He opened himself a way from Cæsarea to Jerusalem by taking Antipatris, Lydda, the country dependent on Thamna, and came to Emmaüs, a place famous in the gospel history, about seven miles from the capital. There he formed a camp, into which he put the fifth legion, to block up Jerusalem on the north side. He then went round towards the south among the Idumeans, who had before shown such blind and impetuous zeal for the metropolis of their religion. He made himself master of all that country, by destroying the Idumean fortresses, and fortifying for himself certain advantageous posts, in which he left a sufficient number of good troops to keep the neighbouring places in awe. He returned to Emmaüs, and from thence went to Samaria, to secure the possession of that country; after which he proceeded to Jericho, where he was joined by the detachment which had subdued Peræa. Jericho made no resistance, most of its inhabitants having fled at the approach of the Roman army; those that remained were cut in

pieces.

pieces. Vespasian left a garrison there, as well as in Adida, a place hard by. By this means Jerusalem was invested on all sides by the Romans.

The next thing to be done was to besiege it in form, which Vespasian was preparing to do when he received the news of Nero's death. He thereupon suspended his proceedings, being willing to see what turn the affairs of the empire in general would take, before he engaged in an enterprise which might be long and difficult. In the mean time, not to be quite inactive, nor entirely to lose sight of what he had in view, he continued to scour the country, taking such places round about Jerusalem as still held out. The rest of the campaign was spent in that manner, and at the end of it all Judea was totally subdued, Jerusalem excepted, and three fortresses, *Herodium, Macherontum, and Masada, held by the robbers.

Vespasian's whole attention was taken up the next year by an affair of a different nature. The negotiations that were carrying on to raise him to the empire, and the necessary care of the war, by which he was put in possession of the throne, obliged him to give the Jews some respite. He even left Judea, and went, as I before said, to Alexandria. But things still remained in the same situation; for though the Jews had time to breathe a little, we are not told of their recovering any part of what they had lost.

Vespasian is obliged to discontinue the war against the Jews. A. R. 820. Jos. de B. Jud. v. 10, 11, 12.

The only thing I have remaining to take notice of here is Josephus's deliverance from prison. Vespasian, having been proclaimed emperor by his legions, and those of Syria and Egypt, remembered with pleasure the pretended prophecies or oracles

He delivers Josephus from his bonds.

* Herod built and fortified two castles to which he gave this name, the one distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia, and the other, which is that here spoken of, beyond the Jordan, near the country of the Arabs.

by which he imagined that high station, so much above the boldest wishes he could have formed, had been foretold him, and particularly what Josephus had said while Nero was yet alive. In consequence of that persuasion, he could no longer think of leaving in a prison one whom he now looked upon as the interpreter of the divine will with respect to him. He sent for him, and, in presence of Mucian and the chief officers of his army, ordered his chains to be taken off. Titus, ever benevolent, represented to his father that it was but just to free Josephus not only from punishment, but likewise from the ignominy of what he had suffered, and that his chains ought to that end to be broken in pieces, as well as loosed, thereby to reinstate him in the same condition as if he had never worn them. Vespasian granted his son's request, and the captive Josephus's chains were broken with a hatchet. From that hour Josephus was highly esteemed and respected in the Roman army, and we shall see him more than once employed by Titus to try to conquer the inflexible obstinacy of his countrymen by his salutary counsels.

Titus sent by his father to besiege Jerusalem. Jos. de B. Jud. v. 14. A. R. 821.

The civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius having been ended in one campaign in favour of the former, the new emperor, on his leaving Alexandria in order to go to Rome, sent his son Titus to Judea. He wisely judged it proper to put an end to a war highly important in itself, and which might become still more so, by giving the Jews of Jerusalem time to interest in their quarrel those of their nation who dwelt beyond the Euphrates, as they had endeavoured to do. Besides that consideration, Vespasian likewise thought it a point of prudence to have his son at the head of a powerful army, at a time when his authority was not yet firmly established, and troubles, or even a reverse of fortune, the frequent attendants on a new reign, might be apprehended. Titus was therefore ordered

Jos. Præf. de B. Jud. et l. vii. c. 13.

Tac. Hist. v. 10.

dered to besiege and take Jerusalem; the last, but by far the most difficult, thing remaining to be done.

SECT. II.

Description of the city of Jerusalem. A short description of the temple. Prodigious number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Three factions in Jerusalem, headed by three chiefs, Eleazar, John, and Simon. Titus advances with a great force to besiege Jerusalem. He exposes himself to great danger in going to reconnoitre the city, and escapes with difficulty Brisk sally of the Jews. Titus saves the tenth legion twice in one day. John unites Eleazar's faction with his own, and remains master of the whole temple. Titus prepares his approaches. Successful stratagem of the Jews against the Romans. Titus reprimands his troops severely. Distribution of the quarters of the Roman army. Titus attacks the north side of the city, and forces the first wall. The second wall attacked. Titus studies to spare the Jews. The second wall taken. Titus shows his army within the city walls. Titus prepares to attack the upper city and fort Antonia at the same time. He employs Josephus to try to prevail on the Jews to submit. Obstinacy of the factious. Deserters. Dreadful famine aggravated by the cruelties of the factious. Titus orders the Jewish prisoners to be crucified, to intimidate their countrymen. Titus tries again, but in vain, to surmount the obstinacy of the besieged. Epiphanius suffers for his rashness. The Roman works burnt and destroyed by the Jews. Titus builds a wall round the city. Dreadful famine in the city. Further cruelties of Simon. He arrests and punishes an officer who betrayed him. Josephus wounded whilst exhorting his countrymen to relent. Dreadful fate of the deserters that went over to the Roman camp.

Misery of the people of Jerusalem. Prodigious number of the dead. The factious themselves begin to feel the famine. John's sacrilegious rapines. Titus erects other platforms. Fort Antonia taken. Cessation of the perpetual sacrifice. Further, but still fruitless, attempts of Titus to prevail on the besieged to surrender the city and temple. He assaults the temple, but without success. Titus prepares to attack the temple with his engines. The Jews themselves set fire to the galleries of the temple, and the Romans follow their example. Dreadful effects of the famine. A mother eats her own child. Titus opens a passage to the body of the temple by setting fire to part of the building. Titus holds a council, in which it is resolved to spare the temple. The temple burnt, notwithstanding Titus's orders and utmost efforts to save it. The Jews deluded to the very last by their false prophets. The Jews warned by God before their last disaster. All that remained of the outer court of the temple burnt. Priests put to death. Titus is again obliged to lay siege to the upper city, which holds out near a month. He takes it at last by main force. Titus sensible that he was only the instrument of divine vengeance. Prisoners and their several fates. Josephus's credit saves some of them. Number of the slain and prisoners. Singular fate of the Jewish nation, as foretold. John and Simon forced to surrender to the Romans. The city and temple entirely razed. Titus commends the soldiers, and rewards such as had distinguished themselves. He divides his army, and leaves part of it in Judea. He spends the winter in visiting Judea and Syria. His compassion on Jerusalem. He leaves Alexandria and arrives at Rome, where he triumphs with his father. The three castles, Herodium, Macherontum, and Masada still held by the rebellious Jews, reduced. End of the war. Disturbances at Alexandria.

Several

Several of the assassins arrested there, and put to death. Their obstinacy. The temple of Onias shut by Vespasian's order. Disturbances at Cyrœne. Josephus accused of being concerned in them. His accuser punished. Authority of his history. Some account of his works and person.

Both nature and art combined to make Jerusalem one of the strongest places in the whole world. It stood upon two hills, besides that on which the temple was built. One of them was the famous mount Sion, the other was called Acra. They faced each other; Sion to the south, Acra to the north; and between them was a valley, the buildings on each side of which met and joined. The first of these hills, on which the upper city stood, was considerably higher than the other, which was called the lower city. Each of them was surrounded on the outside by deep torrents of water, which rendered all access to them impracticable. This was called the valley of the children of Hinnom. It ran from west to east on the south side of mount Sion, and joined the valley of Cedron, east of the temple, at the foot of the mount of Olives. Description of the city of Jerusalem. Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 6.

The east side of Acra was directly opposite to a third hill, called mount Moriah, on which was the temple. Acra was originally the highest of these hills; for which reason the Syrians made it their fortress in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, commanding from thence the temple, and exercising all manner of violence and cruelty on the Jews, who went thither out of devotion. The Asmonean kings, not satisfied with having razed the citadel which the Syrians had built, likewise lowered the top of the mountain, and filled up the valley below towards the east; by which means the ground on which the temple stood became higher than Acra, and the communication between them was rendered more easy. Macc. i. 1. and Jos. Ant. xii. 7.

A fourth hill, north of the temple, was afterwards taken into the city, unable to contain the immense multitude of its inhabitants. Numbers of Jews built themselves houses at Bezitha, for that was the name of the new quarter, which was separated from the fortress Antonia by a wide ditch. Josephus reckons the circumference of the whole city thirty-three stadia, or somewhat more than four * thousand paces.

Such was the natural situation of the place, to which the further advantage of three high and strong walls was added by art. The first and oldest of them surrounded Sion, forming as it were two arms, one of which divided the upper city from the lower, and extended to the south-west angle of the temple; and the other running round the west, south, and east sides of the hill, winding and turning according as the irregularity of the ground required, terminated at the east front of the temple. The two other walls, beginning at different parts of that which separate Sion from Acra, extended north, and turned back again towards the temple, ending, the one at fort Antonia, and the other, after forming a much larger circuit, at the same east front of the temple where the first likewise joined.

These walls were flanked with towers, which, for beauty and regularity of workmanship, were no ways inferior to the best built temples. On a solid square, twenty cubits wide and high, were built magnificent apartments, with other rooms over them, and cisterns to receive rain-water, extremely precious in that dry country. A large flight of stairs led up to the apartments. The third wall had ninety of these towers; the middle one fourteen, and

* If we are of M. D'Anville's opinion in his dissertation on the extent of ancient Jerusalem, that the stadium here made use of by Josephus is shorter by one fifth than the Olympic stadium, the circumference of Jerusalem will be reduced to three thousand three hundred paces.

and the oldest sixty. The space between each tower was two hundred cubits.

Four of these towers were more remarkably high and beautiful than the rest. The first of them was the tower Psephina *, at the north-west angle of the third wall, that is to say, at the place where that wall, ceasing to run due north, turned back towards the city and temple. It was an octogon, seventy cubits high, commanding on the east a prospect of Arabia, and on the west a view of all Palestine quite to the sea.

The three other towers were built on the old wall by Herod, who, besides his love of magnificence and zeal to embellish the city, had likewise a particular motive for erecting these works, which he consecrated to the memory of the three persons for whom he had the greatest value, Hippicus his best friend, Phasael his brother, and the unfortunate Mariamne his wife, whose life he took away in one of his mad fits of love. These three towers were therefore called Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, names infinitely dear to Herod. The first of them was in the north angle of the west side of Sion, at the beginning of the wall which separated the upper city from the lower. The two others seem to have been on the same line towards the east, between Sion and Acra. They were not of equal height: the first was eighty, the second ninety, and the third fifty-five cubits high; so built, in all probability, because the ground was higher in some parts, and lower in others; but their tops were on a level, and, when seen from afar, they appeared of equal bigness, and of the same size with all the other towers of that wall. Tac. Hist. v. 11.

Whoever has read a little must know that the temple A short description of the temple. Jos.

* M. D'Anville, in that ingenious and learned dissertation of his just mentioned, proves that this tower was built on the very spot where Castel Pisana now stands.

temple of Jerusalem was not like any, even the largest, of our churches. It was, properly speaking, not one single building, but rather an immense fabric divided into numbers of courts and inclosures, and surrounded with great and magnificent galleries, which were its fortifications; so that it looked more like a citadel than a place set apart for religious worship, according to our manner of building. In the centre was the temple properly called, quite detached from every other building, and divided within into two parts by a veil, which separated the holy place from the holy of holies. From thence to the outer galleries the whole space was filled, as I have just said, with buildings set apart for religious uses, and the convenience of those that served the temple; with several courts, the largest of which, being that next the galleries, extended round the inner buildings, and was called the court of the Gentiles, because they were admitted there as well as the Jews. The whole body of the building formed a square, the circumference of which, * according to Josephus, was six stadia, that is, three quarters of a mile †. The four sides of this quadrangle faced pretty exactly the four cardinal points of the world.

The top of mount Moriah, on which the temple stood, was not naturally broad enough for so vast a pile. To remedy this defect, the ground was raised on one side where the declivity was too great, and a terras formed three hundred cubits high.

I have already observed, that by lowering mount Acra, the temple was become higher than that part of the city. East of the temple was the valley of Cedron; to the south, inclining a little towards the west,

* M. D'Anville makes the extent of the temple much greater. I refer to what he says.

† These three quarters of a mile will be but six hundred paces, if we keep to the measure of the stadium, as mentioned in the first note of this section.

west, it communicated with Sion by a bridge over a deep torrent; excepting that the hill Bezitha overlooked it a little on the north. It was quite a citadel to all the rest of the city.

But the tower Antonia, at the north-west angle of the temple, had a full command of it. Two flights of stairs led from that tower, one to the north and the other to the west gallery. The Romans kept a garrison in it; and by commanding the temple from that fort, they were masters of the city by means of the temple. Accordingly, the first care of the rebels, as we have seen, was to drive them from that fortress, which was a check on all their motions, and rendered them ineffectual.

Prodigious number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 11.

The city of Jerusalem, so strong in itself, was prodigiously thronged with inhabitants, and especially at the time of the passover, when almost innumerable multitudes repaired thither to worship. I have already said, after Josephus, that Cæstius was on one of those solemn occasions surrounded by three millions of Jews. Surprising as this number is, it is not exaggerated: for when Cæstius, to convince Nero how much he was in the wrong to hold the Jewish nation in such contempt as he did, desired the princes of the priests to give him an account of the number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, in order to satisfy him, the pontiffs reckoned the paschal victims, and found that they amounted to two hundred fifty-six thousand five hundred. Now, every paschal lamb served at least for ten people, and often twenty sat down to it. Taking, therefore, only the smallest number, two hundred fifty-six thousand five hundred victims prove that there were two millions five hundred and sixty-five thousand inhabitants; to which, if we add such as were prevented from partaking of the passover by legal impurities, and the strangers whom curiosity brought thither, we shall readily conceive that

that there might really be the three millions spoken of.

Three factions in Jerusalem, headed by three chiefs, Eleazar, John, and Simon.

But that infinite multitude was much fitter to starve the city than defend it. What made the conquest of Jerusalem difficult was, that at the time when Titus began the siege it was filled with numbers of desperate men, long accustomed to the use of arms, inured to all the horrors of war, fearless of dangers, and even of death, and enthusiastically persuaded that the holiness of their city and temple would render every effort against them fruitless, and so protect them that they could not be conquered; a powerful inducement to make a strong and bold resistance. One essential point was wanting in them; union under one chief, capable of directing them with prudence and judgment. They were divided into three factions, who agreed indeed both in opposing the Romans and in oppressing the peaceful citizens; but who weakened themselves by their intestine broils, and could not fail to give their common enemy vast advantages, by the rage and fury with which they murdered and destroyed each other. The chiefs of these three factions were, Eleazar son of Simon, John of Giscala, and Simon son of Gioras.

Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 1.

Of these three tyrants, for they but too well deserved that name, as we shall find, Eleazar was first in point of date. He had formed a party in the city at the time when Cæstius laid siege to it, and distinguished himself in the pursuit of that general. It was under his command that the zealots made themselves masters of the temple, and sustained a siege against the high-priest Ananus. From that time they had always been guided by his counsels, and he reigned head of that party till John of Giscala came and joined them.

Jos. de B. Jud. v. 3.

John, adding deceit and cunning to the utmost pitch of audacious impudence, was no sooner admitted into the faction of the zealots, to ingratiate himself

himself with whom he had betrayed, as I before observed, the interests of the people, and of the rulers of the nation, that he set to work to make himself their sole head and master. Many admired him for his boldness, others were seduced by his caresses, and he took care to inspire all with the utmost contempt for, and open disobedience to, whatever orders did not proceed from him. John's partizans being the most determined and resolute, their confederacy soon became formidable, and numbers joined them out of fear; by which means he formed a party in a party, till at length, totally eclipsing Eleazar, he gained an entire ascendency over the zealots, and made them subservient to his will. Having thus the whole force of that powerful faction under his command, he became master of the city, in which he committed all sorts of outrages, looking upon plunder and rapine, with every excess of the most dissolute debauchery, as prerogatives annexed to his authority. He and his brutish soldiers, plunged in infamy, seemed to study who should inflict the greatest cruelties on their fellow-citizens; so that the wretched inhabitants of Jerusalem suffered infinitely more from their domestic tyrants than they need have feared from the Romans. Jos. de B. Jud. v. 2.

John applauded himself for what he had done, and triumphed in it. But he found a new enemy in Simon son of Gioras, who, from a very low beginning, had, like him, acquired great power and credit by dint of boldness, impudence, and guilt. Simon, expelled from * Acrabatænum by the high-priest Ananus, who disliked his restless turbulent temper, had at first no resource left but in joining with the followers of Judas of Galilee, then in possession of castle Masada, and who from thence made frequent excursions, and laid the country round Jos. de B. Jud. v. 7.

* A canton of Samaria.

round about under contribution, desolating and destroying all they found. Even they did not receive him without some reluctance and distrust; so true is it, that villains always fear each other. They put him and his men into the lower part of the castle, reserving to themselves the upper part, from whence they could command him. His deeds soon showed him as resolutely bent on mischief as they could be; upon which they associated him in their plunders and robberies. But Simon aimed at higher things: tyranny was his object, and the means by which he purposed to attain his end was, by making use of the arms of those who had given him shelter. With that view he endeavoured to engage them in some enterprise of greater consequence than barely plundering the country near them: but he miscarried in that attempt. The robbers quartered at Masada looked upon that fortress as a sure retreat, from which no persuasion could induce them to remove. Simon, finding that they would not come into his measures, left them when he learned the death of Ananus; and, as he was young, enterprising, bold enough to encounter dangers, and sufficiently robust and vigorous to bear any fatigue, he offered himself to head the multitude of lawless rebels who overran Judea, and, by promising freedom to such as were slaves, and rewards to those that were free, he so much increased his troop, that it soon became an army, and he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men.

The zealots began to be jealous of his growing power; justly concluding that Simon's design was to march to Jerusalem, and take the command of that metropolis out of their hands. To prevent this, they marched out to meet him, and a battle was fought in which they were worsted. Simon did not, however, yet think himself strong enough to attack Jerusalem; but fell upon the Idumeans, whose

whose country he laid waste, after dispersing, partly by force and partly by the treachery of one of their chiefs, an army of twenty thousand men who opposed him. He committed the most horrid devastations there, sacking and plundering all, felling trees, and setting fire to the corn and houses; leaving the places he passed through so forlorn and desolate, that not the least mark remained of their having ever been inhabited or cultivated. After this barbarous expedition he drew nearer Jerusalem, and blocked up that city, watching an opportunity to get into it.

John's unbounded fury soon furnished him the means. He carried things to so enormous an excess, that not only the people were incensed, but even such of his own partizans as were not entirely lost to all sense of shame and humanity were quite indisposed against him. His party consisted of zealots properly called, who were, in fact, the first authors of all the calamities the city suffered; of Galileans, his countrymen, who had followed him from Giscala; and of a troop of Idumeans, who, driven from their own country by Simon, had taken shelter in Jerusalem. These last, separating themselves suddenly from the rest, fell upon and killed all the zealots they could find within the walls, plundered the palace in which John had treasured up the fruits of his spoils and robberies, and forced him to shut himself up in the temple with his adherents. Jos de B. Jud. v. 9.

He still continued to make himself formidable there: the people, the great men of the nation, and the Idumeans, united, feared not an open attack, but apprehended lest despair should drive them to set the city on fire in the night. They deliberated among themselves, and God *, says Josephus, perverted their counsels. The remedy they resolved

on

* Θεὸς ἐ ἄρα τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν εἰς κακὸν ἔτρεψεν.

on was worse than the evil itself. To destroy John, they received Simon; taking one tyrant to supplant another. The high-priest Matthias was sent to Simon, to beg of him to enter the city; and a great number of fugitives, whom the outrages of the zealots had forced to leave Jerusalem, joined their entreaties to his. Simon received their petition with a haughty air, and granted as a singular favour what of all things he most desired. Accordingly he entered, promising to deliver Jerusalem from the tyranny of the zealots, but at the same time firmly determined to take their place; and the people received with loud acclamations, as their deliverer, a man who came with a fixed resolution to treat as enemies both those who called him, and those against whom his assistance was implored.

A. R. 820. This happened towards the beginning of* spring, in the year of Christ 69, during which the troubles of the Roman empire procured the Jews a kind of truce, of which the use they made was to destroy one another.

Simon being master of the city attacked the temple several times; and, supported as he was by the people, he had a superiority of numbers. But John had the advantage in point of situation, and made so good use of it, that he baffled all the attempts of his enemy. He likewise added to the fortifications of the temple four new towers, into which he put divers engines of war, archers and slingers, by which he kept Simon's men at a distance. The latter began to be no longer so eager to assault the place, and despaired of being able to dislodge John from the advantageous post in which he made so vigorous a defence.

Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 1. In the mean time they kept him in perpetual alarms, and, whilst John was busied in guarding against

* In the month Xanthicus, which is thought to answer to our month of April.

against them, he gave Eleazar, whom he had so lately eclipsed, an opportunity to retrieve his affairs, and appear again. Eleazar as ambitious as John, but possessed of less parts and resources, bore impatiently his subjection to the new comer, who had deprived him of the first command; but carefully concealing these sentiments, all he discovered was his indignation against a cruel and detestable tyrant. By inveighing and exclaiming on that topic, he brought some chiefs of bands over to his side, and with their assistance made himself master of the inner part of the temple, which stood on higher ground than the rest of that building.

From that moment John's situation was most extraordinary. He was between two enemies, one of whom was over his head, and the other underneath him. Eleazar had the same advantage over him as he had over Simon. However, John maintained his post against them both, driving back Simon, by the superiority of his situation, and keeping Eleazar off by the discharge of his machines. Their battle scarcely ever discontinued; but neither party gained any decisive advantage.

What is very surprising is, that the public worship was not interrupted by all these horrors, though committed within the temple. Mad and furious as the zealots were, they suffered all to enter who came to offer up sacrifices, only taking care to search and examine them strictly. Nor did the holy ceremonies of the sacrifices interrupt the continuance of the war. The catapults and other machines with which John had lined his towers made incessant discharges, and the darts shot from them often reached the foot of the altar, and slew both the sacrificers and those for whom the sacrifice was offered. Devout and religious men, says Josephus with bitter grief, who came from the most remote parts of the earth to perform their devotions, visiting that most renowned temple, revered throughout

the world, met their deaths at the foot of the altar; and the holy place swam with human blood, mingled with that of the slaughtered victims.

While the sacrifices, libations, and other acts of devotion, lasted, Eleazar and his party lived in plenty; for, as they had no respect for the laws or holy things, they appropriated to their own use the offerings and first-fruits that were brought. John and Simon lived by plunder, carrying off whatever provisions they found in the stores and houses of the people; by that means providing for their wants from day to day. Brutishly rash and violent, and incapable of the least forecast, they inconsiderately burned and destroyed, in their contests with each other, vast quantities of the most necessary provisions, as if they had intended to co-operate with the Romans, and shorten the siege, by bringing on a famine.

The people, become a prey to these cruel tyrants, could only vent their grief in deep sighs and useless complaints, wishing for the Romans, and praying to be delivered by a foreign enemy from the dreadful evils which they suffered at home. Their best and wisest men were all lost: no public council was any longer talked of; but every man, perplexed and driven to despair, waited inevitable death, and even hastened it often by the very means intended to avoid it; for whoever was suspected of harbouring the least thought of seeking safety in any place that the Romans held, was immediately killed without mercy. The tyrants, though at implacable enmity with each other, agreed perfectly well in massacring all whose pacific dispositions ought to have entitled them to life.

Titus advances with a great force to besiege Jerusalem. A. R. 821.

Such was the situation of Jerusalem when the avenger, destined by God to punish the crimes of that unhappy city, arrived. Titus appeared before the walls of Jerusalem in the year of Christ 70, just before the feast of the passover, at which time innumerable

numerable crowds of Jews always resorted thither. Titus's army consisted of four legions, three of which had already made war in Judea under Vespasian's command, and the fourth, which came from Syria, had been beaten some years before with Cæstius by the Jews, against whom they now returned determined to wipe off their former shame. To these forces of the Romans was added a much greater number of allies and auxiliaries, furnished by the neighbouring kings and nations. Tacitus gives a particular account of twenty cohorts of allies, eight regiments of horse, the succours brought by the kings Agrippa and Soëmus, who accompanied Titus in person, those sent by Antiochus of Commagena, and some bands of Arabs, a people at perpetual enmity with the Jews, and accustomed to live by plunder. Numbers of the young Roman nobility had likewise joined Titus in hopes of signalizing themselves under the banners of their emperor's son. All were glad of an opportunity to pay their court to a young prince whose fortune was too recent for any to have become his creatures, and consequently gave such as should first merit his favour room to expect great things. Besides this, the military service was as agreeable as it was beneficial under Titus, whose *affability, bounty, and natural politeness, without the least tincture of pride or ostentation, won the hearts of all. He himself set his troops an example how they ought to behave, and went through all the military exercises with distinguished grace. He associated with the soldiers in their works and marches, still preserving the dignity of his high rank in the midst of all his popularity. Tiberius Alexander, an able and experienced soldier, formerly prefect of Egypt, and

Tac. Hist. v. 1.

Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 1. and vii. 9

2 by

* Decorum se promptumque in armis ostendebat, comitate et alloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore. *Tac.*

by birth a Jew, as I have several times observed, had, according to Josephus's expression, some sort of command over the whole army. His knowledge of the enemies, his countrymen, made him be judged the fittest person to advise what was most proper to be done. For the same reason, Josephus, who had followed Vespasian to Alexandria, was sent back to Judea with Titus, as one who might be of service towards bringing over the rebels, both by his exhortations and his example.

Jos. Vit.

He exposes himself to great danger in going to reconnoitre the city, and escapes with difficulty.

When Titus was within thirty stadia of Jerusalem, he took with him six hundred chosen horse, and advanced in person to reconnoitre the fortifications of the city and the disposition of the inhabitants. He knew that they were divided among themselves; that the people wanted peace, and were held in a kind of captivity by the factious. For this reason he was not without hope that his presence might occasion a sedition, and render him victorious, without ever drawing his sword. The event showed how much he was mistaken in that opinion, which induced him to undertake a function much fitter for a subaltern officer than a general. The Jews, seeing him within reach over against the tower Psephina, sallied out upon him, intercepted his troop, and he himself must have been killed or taken, had he not performed prodigies of valour. Josephus says he escaped through the immediate protection of God. He returned to his army, and the Jews to their city, highly elated with their success.

The next day, Titus drew up his army within seven stadia north of the city, and came to a place called Scopos, which signifies a *Watch-house*, so named because the whole city and temple might be descried from thence. There he posted two of his legions; the fifth was placed behind, two stadia off; the tenth was ordered to encamp on the mount of Olives, east of the city, from

from which it was separated by the valley of Cedron.

Brisk sally of the Jews. Titus saves the tenth legion twice in one day.

The impending danger at length made the factious reflect on the rage and obstinacy with which they sought their own ruin, as well as that of their fellow-citizens. They upbraided themselves with their intestine broils and dissensions, by which they served their common enemy; and resolving to unite again, sallied out in concert and attacked the tenth legion, then busied in forming the necessary lines of circumvallation. They crossed the valley with swiftness and alacrity, and succeeded the better in their attempt as it was quite unexpected. The Romans had no apprehension of it, and imagined that the Jews were too much terrified, or at least too much divided among themselves, to agree in any joint enterprise. The legion, of which a great many had laid aside their arms, to take up the tools necessary for their work, was soon disordered, and must have been broken and entirely defeated, if Titus, who was immediately informed of their danger, had not come up to their assistance with a chosen body of troops. He rallied those who were flying, attacked the Jews in flank, and, after killing several of them, and wounding many more, drove them back to the valley, from whence they gained the high grounds near the city, and there drew up, facing the Romans, who were upon the opposite eminence. Titus thinking that affair over, ordered the legion to continue the works they had begun for the camp, covering them, however, with his troop.

The Jews, mistaking the motion the Romans made in consequence of that order, and thinking they were flying, immediately attacked them again with all the fury of the most savage beasts, as Josephus terms it. Titus's troop, unable to stand the shock, dispersed and fled, leaving the prince thinly guarded in the midst of the danger. His friends

advised him at all events to secure his person; but his courage would not suffer him even to hear that language. He not only faced but attacked the enemies with such valour as struck an awe upon them, and made them, to avoid him, throw themselves upon the wings, with which they went in pursuit of the fugitives. The legion, seeing the enemy coming up victorious, was again thrown into such disorder, that nothing but the shame of leaving their prince exposed to so great a danger withheld their flight. The Romans recovered themselves by degrees, and, uniting their forces, soon regained that advantage over the Jews which well disciplined troops must have over an army of furious madmen. They drove them back within the city walls, and returned quietly to fortify their camp. Titus had the honour of saving the tenth legion twice that day.

John unites Eleazar's faction with his own, and remains master of the whole temple. Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 4. and 7.

Union and concord were things too contrary to the inclinations of the factious to subsist long. While the Romans, busied in preparing for the siege, let the city enjoy some quiet from without, the flames of sedition were again kindled within. Eleazar's people having opened the gates of the temple on account of the celebration of the passover, which happened at that time, John ordered some of his followers to mingle with the people, and conceal their arms under their clothes. By this means they stole in unobserved, and, throwing off their upper garments, showed their arms. A dreadful confusion ensued. The people thought they were going to be attacked, and concluded the murderers' rage would make no distinction. The only resource they thought they had left was to cling to the altar, and crowd about the holy place. The zealots, who knew they were the persons aimed at, hid themselves in the subterraneous vaults. John's partizans therefore met with no opposition, and remained masters of the place after the first

bustle

bustle and confusion was over, in which those who had least to do with the quarrel fell victims to it. John, satisfied with his conquest, gave the people leave to retire, and invited the zealots to join, and acknowledge him for their chief. They consented, and Eleazar continued to command that troop, but under John's orders. These two factions being thus united, there were no longer but two in Jerusalem; John's, quartered in the temple, of which he was from that time sole master; and Simon's, which commanded in the city.

They had made a field of battle of the space that separated them, by burning and destroying all the buildings of Acra which faced the west side of the temple. John had six thousand of his own men, and two thousand four hundred zealots, who had lately joined his party. Simon's forces were more numerous, consisting of fifteen thousand men, ten of which were Jews, and five Idumeans.

Titus prepares his approaches.

In the mean time Titus prepared his approaches, levelling all the ground between Scopos and the city walls. His whole army was employed in that work, except a body of horse and foot who covered the rest, and sheltered them from the sallies of the Jews. The walls and hedges of the gardens were thrown down, the trees felled, the vallies and hollow places filled up, the hillocks, of which there were numbers, dug away, and the whole surface of the gound levelled quite up to the city.

Successful stratagem of the Jews against the Romans. Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 5.

Whilst the Romans were carrying on these works, the Jews laid a snare for them, which was attended with some success. A party of them issued out at the north-west side of the city, facing the pioneers, pretending to have been expelled by those of their fellow-citizens who were for peace. Others appeared at the same time on the walls, to represent the people stretching out their hands towards the Romans, begging to capitulate, and promising to open their gates. Those that were without

feigned one moment to endeavour to get back into the city; the next they advanced a few steps towards the Romans; and then again returned towards the walls, as if they had been afraid to venture. All this time their comrades on the walls acted their part of the farce, in concert with them, throwing down stones upon them, and pretending to want to beat them off. The Roman soldiers were deceived by these appearances; but Titus perceiving their drift, and recollecting that he had sent Josephus to the besieged the very evening before with offers of peace, which they had rejected, ordered that no man should stir from his post. This command came too late for the party that covered the pioneers. They were already running up to the gate which the Jews promised to open to them; and as soon as they drew near it, those that were without the walls retreated, in order to entice them on, and the moment they came within the space between the towers which flanked the gate they opened, fell back, and formed a thick battalion behind the Romans, who by that means were hemmed in between them and the walls, from whence showers of darts and arrows were poured down upon them. They defended themselves with great valour; but their situation was such that they could not but lose numbers: and when at last, by dint of bravery, they forced a passage through their enemies, the Jews pursued them, exulting in their advantage, insulting the Romans bitterly, calling them fools and dupes, clashing their bucklers, and singing and dancing like barbarians intoxicated with success.

Titus reprimands his troops severely.

Titus was vexed to see the shame and disgrace his soldiers had incurred by disobeying his orders. He chid them severely for it, and threatened to punish them according to the utmost rigour of the laws of war for their breach of military discipline. He was, however, prevailed on to forgive them, at the intercession

tercession of the legions, who implored his clemency in favour of their comrades. He was* sensible, says Josephus, that where a single person is to be punished, death may often be properly inflicted; but that threats and menaces are a sufficient chastisement for a great multitude. Accordingly he proceeded no further than to warn those he pardoned to take care not to offend again, but to mind their duty better, and be more cautious for the future.

Distribution of the quarters of the Roman army.

The work he ordered having been completed in four days, and the ground laid flat quite up to the city, Titus drew nearer the walls. As his army and baggage were obliged to file off before the enemy to facilitate that operation, and cover them whilst performing it, he drew up his best troops seven deep, three lines of foot, three of horse, and in the middle of them a line of archers, facing the walls from north to west. In this manner he advanced within two hundred and fifty paces of the city, and formed two camps; one, in which he fixed his own quarters, over against the tower Psephina, at the north-west corner of Jerusalem; and the other, more to the south, opposite the tower Hippicos, which was between mount Sion and the lower city. The tenth legion remained encamped to the east, on the mount of Olives.

Titus attacks the north side of the city, and forces the first wall. Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 7.

The next thing to be considered was, which side of the city it was best to attack. Where the torrents formed a natural fortification, there was but one wall; and by forcing mount Sion, or the temple, Titus would have been master of Jerusalem: whereas the other more accessible parts were guarded by two walls, after forcing both of which, mount Sion and the temple still remained to be taken, and required each a particular siege. Notwithstanding

* Τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἑνὸς τιμωρίαν ᾤετο χρῆναι μεχρὶς ἔργου προκόπτειν· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ πλήθους, μεχρὶ λόγου.

standing these considerations, Titus, after carefully examining every spot himself, chose rather to fight against the works of art than of nature, and resolved to attack the north side of the city, the approaches to which were least difficult.

Accordingly he erected three cavaliers or platforms, facing the wall on that side, employing therein all the trees in the neighbourhood, which were cut down for that purpose. On these platforms he erected his batteries, consisting chiefly of catapults and ballists, which threw showers of darts and stones with great violence. These engines were far from being so despicable as those who are acquainted only with the modern art of war may perhaps imagine. Besides vast quantities of darts, they likewise threw stones of sixty pounds weight with such force as to do dreadful execution at near three hundred paces distance. Josephus, in his account of the siege of Jotapata, tells us, that one of those stones, striking a man on the head at that place, dashed his brains out with such violence that they flew upwards of sixty paces off; and that a woman big with child being likewise struck in that manner, the child was beat out of her body, and carried near four hundred paces off by the violence of the blow. It is true, it was pretty easy to avoid those stones, because one might see them coming, especially as their whiteness made them still more conspicuous. For that reason the Jews had sentinels, whose business it was to keep a sharp look-out, and warn others, which they did by crying out, 'Beware of the stone;' upon which those that were in its way opened to let it pass, or fell flat on the ground. But, that they might be less visible, the Romans took care to blacken them, by which means they were sure to do more execution, the same stone often killing several men. Titus placed his archers and slingers behind the engines, and when he had brought his works near enough

Jos. de B. Jud. iii. 9.

Id. ib. vi. 7.

enough to the wall for the battering-rams to play, three of them were likewise set to work.

Then it was, and not before, that John joined his forces to Simon's to defend the city. Till then the danger had not been great enough to overcome his distrusts. He had kept himself within the temple, leaving to Simon, who was most exposed to the besiegers, the sole care of repulsing them. But when the rams began to beat the walls, he vouchsafed to yield to the entreaties of his partizans, whose impatient fears could no longer be restrained, and who insisted that all private animosities should be laid aside, and every party unite against the common enemy.

The Jews opposed their batteries to those of the Romans. They had taken several engines of war from Cæstius when they defeated him, and had likewise found others in fort Antonia; but, for want of knowing how to make a proper use of them, they were of little service; only a few, who had received some slight instructions from deserters, being able to manage them even tolerably well. The Jews in general had no great turn for the art of war. Their unparalleled audaciousness was their main resource, of which they gave convincing proofs in their sallies, in one of which they were very near destroying the works, and setting fire to the engines of the Romans.

They had let some days pass without attempting any thing, in hopes of deceiving the besiegers; and in fact the Romans, concluding from thence that the besieged were quite spent and disheartened, began to be less vigilant and careful, when on a sudden the Jews made a general sally through a private gate, and, not being in the least expected, bore down all they met in their first passage, and penetrated to the very lines and works of the Romans. They were already setting fire to them, when Titus came up with a strong body of horse.

Historians

Suet. Tit. v. et Jos. Historians aver, that twelve of the enemy were slain by twelve arrows shot by that prince. The troops about him, animated by the example of their general, redoubled all their courage, and the Jews were driven back. Only one of them was taken prisoner; and Titus, to intimidate the rest, ordered him to be crucified before the city walls. But that lesson was lost upon them; their hearts were too much hardened to be warned by it.

They defended themselves with all the obstinacy of men driven to despair, till at length the towers erected by Titus got the better of their resistance. These towers were fifty cubits high, besides the platforms upon which they were built, so that their tops exceeded considerably the height of the city walls. The archers, slingers, and engines with which they were filled, played from thence so warmly upon the besieged, that they did not suffer them even to appear on the walls; and the iron with which they were plated from top to bottom secured them effectually against all the efforts of the Jews. The rams, thus guarded by these towers, were consequently at full liberty to work, and, by battering the wall incessantly, at last made a breach. The Jews might still have defended it; but thinking they had yet a resource behind their second wall, they retreated thither, and gave up the first, of which the Romans remained masters, after fifteen days* continual assault.

The second wall attacked. Titus becoming thereby master of the northern part of the city, removed his camp thither, and posted himself over against the second wall; but at

* The text of Josephus says, the first wall was taken on the seventh of the month Artemisius, which answers to our month of May. But that date does not agree with some which follow, as M. de Tillemont observes in his thirty-third note upon the ruin of the Jews. As these discussions are in a manner foreign to the design of this work, I have fixed this event, neither to the seventh of May, nor to the twenty-eighth of April, which last M. de Tillemont conjectures to be right.

at such distance from it as to be out of reach of the enemy's shot. The two tyrants of Jerusalem divided the defence of the city between them. John, who could see every motion of the Romans from fort Antonia and the north front of the temple, undertook to traverse the besiegers on that side, whilst Simon was to defend the wall beginning at fort Antonia, which covered the lower city.

The second wall cost Titus less time than the first had done. He might have been master of it the fifth day if he had consulted his clemency less than he did; for he had made a breach in it, through which he entered with a select body of troops which always followed him, and a thousand of the legionary soldiers. Consequently, if he had only widened the breach, which, by the laws of war, he had a right to do, he must infallibly have kept possession of his conquest. But he wanted to save the city, and spare its inhabitants. To that end he ordered his soldiers not to kill any one, nor set fire to the houses, hoping to shame the Jews out of their obstinate perverseness by dint of generosity and clemency; and, indeed, the people were quite ready to receive him as their saviour and deliverer; but the factious put a wrong construction upon his mildness; they called it weakness and pusillanimity, and said he affected that moderation only to conceal his inability to take the rest of the city. In consequence of that persuasion they soon recovered from the terror which the taking of the first wall had struck them with, and imposed silence on the people, killing those that cried out for peace, and attacking the Romans in the streets, and from the tops of the houses, till at last they forced them to give way; upon which a party of the Jews, running to the breach, drove back the Romans who guarded it. By this means Titus was surrounded on every side, and stood in need of all his courage and presence of mind to be able to retreat with honour,

Titus studies to spare the Jews.

nour, though not without great difficulty, on account of the narrowness of the breach. However, he got back to his camp, after abandoning the advantages he had gained.

The second wall taken.

The Jews were extremely elated by this success. Their presumption was such that they imagined the Romans would not dare to venture again within their walls, and that if they were rash enough to attempt it, they should be able to drive them back with the same ease as before. God*, says Josephus, blinded these unhappy wretches, as a punishment for their sins; and they considered neither the power of the Romans too great to be any ways affected by that inconsiderable loss, nor the famine which began to be felt within Jerusalem. They soon had sufficient cause to repent of their error. During three days they defended, with great obstinacy, the breach which they were not able to repair, but were again beat from it on the fourth; and Titus thereupon immediately threw down the whole north side of the wall, and filled all the towers, belonging to the parts he left standing to the west and south, with troops of his own.

Titus shows his army within the city walls. Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 12.

After four-and-twenty days of incessant fighting and fatigue, Titus thought proper to give his troops some respite, and the enemy time to reflect on the calamities they endured, and those they must expect. With that double view, he resolved to show his army within the city walls, and under the very eyes of the Jews, with all the parade and pomp usual on such occasions. Accordingly, all the troops passed in review as they went to receive their pay, covered with arms glittering with gold and silver, the horsemen leading their horses richly caparisoned; a most magnificent, and at the same time awful, sight to the spectators, some of whom were

* Ἐπιστέλλει δὲ τῶν ταῖς γνάμαις διὰ τὰ, παρανομια· ὁ Θεος.

were pleased, and others terrified, according as their interests and inclinations led them. The Jews, the better to see what passed, crowded to the old wall and the side of the temple that overlooked the city, and even the roofs of their houses were covered with infinite multitudes. All were struck with fear and admiration at the sight of so numerous and fine an army. The very factious trembled, and Josephus thinks they would have submitted, had it not been that their guilt was too great for them to expect forgiveness; and that, despairing of this, they chose rather to die in battle than by the hand of the executioner. This pompous parade lasted four days, at the end of which Titus, finding that the enemy did not talk of surrendering, ordered his army to resume the siege.

Titus prepares to attack the upper city and fort Antonia at the same time.

He erected more batteries, intending to attack the upper city and fort Antonia at the same time, and divided his army accordingly. Two legions, with the auxiliary troops that attended them, were ordered to each of the attacks, and each of those legions was commanded to erect a proper platform. The works were carried on in sight of the enemy, whose utmost efforts were not spared to traverse and interrupt them. Each of the two chiefs resolved to defend his post; John the temple, the preservation of which depended on the keeping of fort Antonia, and Simon the upper city. The Romans were greatly incommoded by them, for by this time the Jews began to be pretty well acquainted with the management of their machines and engines of war, which had been of little use to them at the beginning of the siege.

He employs Josephus to try to persuade the Jews to submit.

But all their resistance served only to defer their misfortunes, and make them fall more heavily at last. Titus, too, who looked upon Jerusalem as his own, thought himself for that reason interested to prevent its destruction, and would much rather have chosen to owe his conquest to the submission

of

of the besieged than to the force of his arms, and to have a flourishing city rather than a heap of ruins, for a monument of his victory. He therefore tried once more to open the eyes of a people obstinately bent on their own destruction; and to that end he pitched upon Josephus, as the man they would probably soonest listen to, to exhort them to think more wisely.

Josephus went round the wall in search of a place from whence he might be heard without exposing himself to too great danger; and, raising his voice, he conjured his countrymen with tears to take pity on themselves and on the people; to spare their country and the temple; and to have at least as much regard as even strangers showed for those dear objects. 'The Romans,' continued he, 'respect your sanctuary, though it belongs to their 'enemies, and they have no interest in it themselves; whilst you, who have been brought up 'in the worship of this temple, you who, if it 'subsists, will remain sole possessors of it, exert 'your utmost efforts to destroy it. How can you 'hope or even think to be able to resist those who 'have conquered the world, and to whom your 'fathers, better far than you, were forced to submit? What can you expect, now that the chief 'part of your city is taken, and that what you 'have remaining of it suffers greater evils than a 'place that is taken by storm? for the Romans are 'not ignorant that your people in general are actually famished, and that your soldiers, too, must 'soon feel the dismal effects of hunger and want. 'Those are enemies you cannot think to overcome, and they alone are sufficient to subdue 'you, even though the Romans should cease to 'act.' To these exhortations Josephus added threatenings and menaces against the obstinacy of the besieged, telling them they must expect inexorable vengeance if they forced the Romans to take them

them by storm; at the same time assuring them that they should be pardoned, and all past offences forgotten, if they would but return at last to their duty. But he had a set of intractable wretches to deal with, whose only answer was to laugh at him, and load him with opprobrious language, and some even shot at him.

Still he was not discouraged, but proceeded to show them, out of their own history, how God had always been the only protector of their nation in all their sufferings and dangers, and how visible it was that that God then abandoned and delivered them up to the Romans, as a punishment for their crimes. 'You put your trust,' said he, 'in his 'temple, which you profane; he has forsaken it, 'and espoused the cause of those against whom 'you now make war. How should he continue to 'dwell among you? Every good man would fly 'his house when defiled by sin. And can you 'hope that God will continue to dwell in a place 'which you have made the abode of guilt, and a 'receptacle for the most infamous of men?'

Josephus concluded with repeating the arguments he had before made use of. 'Obdurate men,' said he, 'do you not blush to see the melancholy 'situation to which your rage has reduced your 'country? Such a country! consider but its beauty 'and magnificence. Such a city! such offerings 'as have been brought to it by all the kings and 'nations of the world! yet that very city have 'you devoted to destruction and consuming flames. 'Even the fate of your own families, of your 'wives and children, who must fall victims 'either to famine or the sword, does not move 'you.' Suspect me not of any private views in 'what I now remonstrate to you. I know that 'all that is dearest to me in this world, my 'mother, wife, and kindred, are shut up with 'you in Jerusalem. But I am ready to sacrifice

'even them for the good of my country. Hap-
'py if their deaths and mine could purchase your
'repentance!'

Obstinacy of the factious deserters.

These pathetic speeches and warm reproaches made no manner of impression on the factious; but they had a great effect upon the people, many of whom were thereby induced to leave the city. They sold their possessions for a trifle, and concealing what they got for them in the best manner they could, they fled to Titus's camp, where they were permitted to pass, and go to whatever part of the country they thought proper. Such as took that step had reason to rejoice in their deliverance from the oppression of their cruel tyrants, and the miseries of famine.

Dreadful famine, aggravated by the cruelties of the factious.

The Jews were reduced to extreme want, and famine began to rage with violence in the city. No supplies of bread or corn were brought, and what little remained, concealed in obscure places, was sold at an exorbitant price. Dreadful as that evil was in itself, it was aggravated still more by the rage and fury of the factious, who, though they had plenty of all things, forcibly robbed the people of their necessary subsistence, in order to increase their own stores. They broke open houses, searched them narrowly, and if they found any kind of provisions concealed, they beat and abused the master of the family for being guilty, they said, of fraud and deceit. If they found nothing, they tormented them equally, to force them to discover their hoards. The way by which they pretended to distinguish between those who had provisions and those who had none, was by their looks. Whoever seemed well and healthy was immediately suspected by the tyrants, and forced to undergo a severe examination; such odious and insupportable vexations forced the poor wretches who had still some little food left to hide themselves where they ate it, as if they had been committing an enormous crime.

crime. The poorer sort ate their corn sometimes without any preparation; whilst others baked theirs in a great hurry, trembling all the time for fear, snatching their bread off the fire before it was half done, and devouring it greedily. Numbers, unable to procure any kind of grain, stole out of the city in the night to gather what wild herbs and roots they could find without the walls. Some of them were taken by the enemy; and others, after escaping the Romans, were seized on their return by their own people, who stripped them of all they had. In vain did these poor wretches invoke the sacred name of God, and conjure their lawless ravishers with tears to leave them at least a part of what they had got with so much danger; they were well off if their lives were not taken away with their property.

Such were the cruelties exercised by the factious on the lower class of the people. The rich and great were either put to death, or at least punished with fines and forfeitures, under pretence of their corresponding with the Romans to betray the city to them, or of intending to go over to their camp. The two tyrants, whose ambitious desire of rule made them enemies in all things else, agreed perfectly well in harassing and oppressing the citizens, whom they beat about from the one to the other, till they had divided their spoils between them.

Thus was fulfilled what Christ foretold, that the tribulation* of those days would be greater than had ever been before, or ever would be after. Josephus† makes use of the very same expression to give a general idea of what he had said more at large concerning the calamities of Jerusalem; and adds, that the authors of all these woes were the

* Matth. xxiv. 21. and Mark xiii. 19.

† *Μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, μήτε γένεαν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κάκιαν γονιμώτεραν. Jos. de B. Jud.* vi. 11.

most infamous and wicked set of wretches that ever existed.

Titus orders the Jewish prisoners to be crucified to intimidate their countrymen.

The woes of the Jews, however, would not have been complete, if they had always found a resource in the Romans, and the clemency of their enemies had still continued to make them some amends for what they suffered from their own tyrants. Titus, being informed that numbers of them ventured beyond the city walls to pick up a wretched sustenance, ordered some of his troops to lie in ambush for them; and thinking to surmount the perverse obstinacy of the besieged, whose continued efforts harassed and fatigued his pioneers, he resolved to make an example of such of them as should fall into his hands; and accordingly he ordered them to be crucified within sight of the city. The number of these wretches was so great, four or five hundred being often taken in one night, that the Romans were soon at a loss for room to erect their crosses upon, and for crosses enough for the prisoners

But the factious were so far from being moved thereby, that they made use even of that dreadful sight to incense the people against the Romans, and deceive them. They made them believe that those they saw crucified in that manner were not prisoners of war, but men who had fled to them for shelter; and forcing the friends and relations of those unhappy victims to the walls, 'Behold,' said they, 'how the Romans treat such as trust to 'their mercy; see what you are to expect, if you 'fly to them for shelter' This artifice had its effect with many, whom it prevented from deserting; but others, on the contrary, thought it an additional reason to go over to the Romans, preferring the worst of deaths to the miseries and horrors they endured at home.

Titus tries again, but in vain, to

Titus being told how the people were misled, resolved still to try to undeceive them; to which

end,

end, having ordered the hands of some of the prisoners to be lopped off, he sent them back to the city to inform their countrymen of the real truth. At the same time he again pressed the chiefs of the two factions not to wait the last extremity, promising yet to save their lives, their city, and their temple; and, in order to enforce his arguments with terror, he visited his works, and exhorted and encouraged his men to finish them with all speed. His attempts to mollify the desperate Jews served only to increase their insolence. They launched out into invectives against Titus and the emperor his father, crying out, that for their parts they did not value death. 'We are resolved,' said they, 'to prefer death to slavery; and whilst we 'breathe, we will do the Romans all the mischief 'in our power. Since we must perish, what is our 'country to us? This temple of the Most High is 'our universe, and the building which we defend 'will yet be saved by him to whom it belongs. 'On his assistance we depend, and laugh all idle 'menaces to scorn. The event is in the hand of 'God.'

surmount the obstinacy of the besieged.

Blind and absurd as this rage of the Jews was, it spirited up many to fight with uncommon obstinacy. Epiphanius, son of Antiochus of Commagena, experienced it. He joined Titus's army, at the time I am speaking of, with a chosen troop of fine tall young men, called Macedonians, because they were armed after the Macedonian manner. That young prince, whose valour knew no bounds, seemed greatly surprised that the Romans should choose to decline marching up to the walls. 'Well,' said Titus to him with a smile, 'the field 'is open, you may try.' Epiphanius thereupon immediately set out with his Macedonians, and marched up to the foot of the wall, where he met with so warm a reception from the Jews as soon convinced him that the Romans acted wisely. His

Epiphanius suffers for rashness.

men persisting in keeping their ground, and performing what they had undertaken, were saluted with such a shower of darts and stones, that most of them were killed on the spot, and few returned without being wounded.

The Roman works burnt and destroyed by the Jews.

At length the Romans finished their platforms, the twenty ninth of the month Artemisius *, after seventeen days incessant labour. Two of these platforms were erected against fort Antonia, and two against the upper city. They proved of no service to the besiegers, but, on the contrary, afforded the Jews a subject of triumph.

John had taken care to undermine those that were intended against him, which were but twenty cubits distant from each other, supporting his works under ground with props. When all was ready, he filled his mine with a great quantity of wood covered with pitch and other combustibles, and set it on fire. The Romans were not guarded against that danger, nor did they perceive it till the props under ground giving way, their works fell in at once with a prodigious crash. Their fall raised at first a thick cloud of smoke and dust, but the flames soon prevailing broke out in a dreadful manner. The Romans were grieved to see their works of many days destroyed in a moment, without having it in their power to remedy so sudden and unexpected an accident.

The two other platforms had no better fate. The Romans had already fixed their rams upon them, and began to batter the wall; when Simon, sallying out, attacked them furiously. His troops were good, and he had taught them to have such respect for their commander, that they were ready to a man, says Josephus, even to kill themselves, if he had ordered it. Three of their bravest officers putting themselves at the head of a band of soldiers as

Jos. de B. Jud. vi. 8.

Id. vii. 11.

* The month Artemisius answers to our month of May.

as intrepid as themselves, taking torches and flambeaux in their hands, sallied out, resolved to conquer or die. Their audaciousness was beyond description. Making up to the enemy, as if they had been going to join a body of their own troops, without betraying the least symptom of fear, or halting or hesitating in any shape, they forced their way to the engines, and, notwithstanding the showers of darts that fell upon them, and the opposition they met with from the enemy's swords, they bore down all before them, and did not retire a step till they had set fire to them. At the sight of the flames, the Romans ran from their camp to save their engines, and at the same time fresh troops of Jews came from the city to support their companions. A warm engagement ensued: the Romans strove to save their galleries and rams, whilst their adversaries endeavoured to keep them off. In the mean time the fire spread and catched the platforms, so that the Romans, surrounded with flames, and despairing of being able to save either their engines, or even their works, began to retreat towards their camp. The Jews, animated by this success, pursued them, and their number increasing every moment, they reached the intrenchments of the Romans, and attacked the guards that kept the gates. The severity of the Roman discipline was what saved their camp on this occasion. The guards, sensible that their lives were forfeited if they abandoned their post, kept their ground. Many who were flying, encouraged by their example, rallied and stopped the Jews, who still continued to press them with extreme fury. At length Titus, who was at that time near fort Antonia, being apprised of what was doing, flew to assist his men. Animated by his presence, they soon got the better, and forced the Jews back within their walls; though not till after the latter had ruined their works and batteries, and disconcerted all their schemes.

Titus builds a wall round the city.

Titus was perplexed, and held a council to consider what steps were most proper to be taken. Opinions were divided; the boldest of his officers being for giving a general assault directly, without any further preparatives. 'Hitherto,' said they, 'our 'army has fought only in small detachments. Let 'the Jews see our whole force collected: they will 'not be able to stand even the first shock, but will 'be buried under the showers of darts and arrows 'which we shall pour upon them.' Others, more cautious and circumspect, were strongly against taking so hazardous a step, which it was manifest could not succeed. But though they agreed in what ought not to be done, they still differed in their sentiments concerning what they should do. Some were for erecting new platforms; others proposed changing the siege into a blockade, to reduce the city by famine, without attempting to fight. 'Despair,' said they, 'is invincible: it is madness 'to think of engaging with men who wish to fall 'by the sword, in order to avoid a more cruel 'death.'

Titus did not like any of their proposals. The first could please none but rash and hot-headed men. The building of new platforms was liable to many inconveniences, especially as there was great scarcity of wood. Barely to block up the city was protracting matters to an uncertain length; and the young* prince was, if we credit Tacitus, very desirous to visit Rome, where grandeur, riches, and pleasure, waited his arrival.

How far that consideration might have any weight with Titus is uncertain, at least he did not show that it had; but represented, 'That to re-'main quite inactive with so fine an army would 'argue

* Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos; et, ni statim Hierosolyma concidissent, morari videbantur. *Tac. Hist.* v. 11.

'argue want of resolution, and be a reflection on 'them. That the length of time which a blockade 'would necessarily require, would diminish the 'glory of their conquest, to which despatch would, 'on the contrary, be a great addition. That it 'was therefore most proper, in the first place, to 'take advantage of the distressed situation of the 'besieged, and, in order to improve that, to invest 'their city so closely that nothing should be able 'to go into or out of it; and, secondly, not to dis-'continue their attacks, that the strength of their 'arms, being added to the insuperable difficulties 'of famine, should force the Jews to a speedy sub-'mission. That his design was to surround the 'city entirely with a wall, to cut off from the be-'sieged all hopes of escaping. That what he pro-'posed might indeed be thought a difficult and la-'borious task; but that it would appear such to 'those only who were ignorant that great success 'is acquired by great undertakings.'

All agreed that what he proposed was right; and the army, to whom the several parts of that work were allotted, set about it with incredible ardour and emulation. It is hardly to be conceived how a wall thirty-nine stadia, or five thousand paces long, flanked on the outside with thirteen forts or castles, the circumferences of which amounted together to ten stadia more, could possibly be built in three days. A strict guard was kept without that wall, and Titus went the rounds himself regularly the first watch of every night.

Every passage being stopped, famine and all its dreadful concomitants raged with redoubled fury within the city. Josephus gives a moving description of it. The roofs of the houses, (which, as every one knows, are flat in the eastern countries,) says that historian, were covered with babes expiring at their dying mothers' breasts; the streets were filled with bodies of old men starved to death. Such as had

Dreadful famine in the city.

had youth and vigour on their side still made a shift to crawl about, looking more like ghosts than men, till they dropped down through hunger, weakness, and want; a mournful silence reigned throughout the city: no cries, no groans were heard; famine was all they felt, and every sorrow seemed absorbed in that. The fate of those who died first was envied by their wretched survivors, who outlived them only to endure more woes, and who looked upon death as their greatest blessing. Many, in the despair to which they were driven, applied to the soldiers, beseeching as a favour that they would kill them. But those barbarians, who would often take an inhuman pleasure in butchering such as were already dying, refused their deadly help when begged to end a miserable life. The pride and insolence of those triumphant wretches aggravated the grief and sorrows of the dying, whose expiring eyes were turned towards the temple, as if to implore the justice of the Being worshipped there. Few of the dead would even have been buried, had that care been left to their relations only, they being too much taken up with their own sufferings to think of any thing else. However, as it was necessary to remove such melancholy and odious objects, the tyrants at first hired people, whom they paid out of the public money, to perform that office; but soon growing tired of that expense, they ordered the dead bodies to be thrown down the precipices without the city. Titus going to take a view of the place, saw those heaps of dead rotting together; at which he was so struck, that, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he took God to witness that he was not the cause of all those evils.

By this time the factious too began to feel the effects of want, of which they were the more sensible by a comparison of their dismal situation with the plenty which the Romans enjoyed. The latter

latter purposely made a show of it in the sight of the Jews, spreading their tables, which were plentifully served, before the city walls. The audaciousness of those frantic wretches began at length to be so far tamed by their sufferings as to make them fear the enemy; but at the same time their rage and fury were vented with greater violence than ever against their fellow-citizens, who were unable to resist them.

Further cruelties of Simon.

Simon did not spare even the man to whom he was indebted for his admittance into the city. The high priest Matthias being accused of corresponding with the Romans, was by him condemned to death, with three of his sons; the fourth had escaped to Titus's camp. The venerable old man was put to the rack, to force him to confess his pretended guilt; and when he begged, at the place of execution, as his last request, to die before his children, the inhuman tyrant barbarously refused even that, and forced him to see them expire. Adding insult to cruelty, he chose for the place of execution a spot from whence the Roman camp was seen; that those unfortunate men might behold with their last sight the asylum in which they would have been safe; nor would he suffer their dead bodies to be buried after their execution.

Seventeen other citizens, of the best families among the Jews, were treated by him with equal inhumanity. Josephus's * mother was only imprisoned; the tyrant probably intending to keep her as an hostage. For fear any plot should be carried on against him, he strictly forbade all meetings and assemblies of the inhabitants, and would not suffer them even to converse together: if any chanced to be

* It is Josephus's father who is named in the text. But as no mention is made of him any where else during the siege, and Josephus's mother is spoken of both before and after the passage in question, I have followed M. D'Andilli and M. de Tillemont's emendation

be overheard imparting their mutual griefs, they were instantly put to death, without the least form of process.

He arrests and punishes an officer who betrayed him.

His fears were not without cause. One of his own satellites, weary of his tyranny, and still more struck by the near approach of inevitable ruin, undertook to deliver up to the Romans a tower of which he had the custody. He had already gained over ten of his soldiers, and called out to the Romans from the top of the tower; but they, suspecting this to be a piece of artifice, like what they had so often experienced before, were in no haste to believe him. Whilst they lost time in debating, Simon received intelligence of what was doing; upon which he ran instantly thither, and seized the officer and his accomplices, ordered their throats to be cut, and their bodies to be thrown over into the ditch, in sight of the enemy.

Josephus wounded whilst exhorting his countrymen to relent.

While things were in this situation, Josephus, never weary of exhorting his countrymen to relent, drew too near the wall in order to harangue them, and received a blow from a stone which struck him down quite senseless. The factious, who hated him, immediately sallied out in hopes of taking him, and were very near succeeding; but Titus sent a detachment which rescued him out of their hands. Josephus was so stunned by the blow that he remained quite senseless during the skirmish that was fought close by him, and a report was spread in Jerusalem that he was dead. Such of the inhabitants of that city as were inclined to peace were greatly disheartened thereby, and lamented the loss of him as of their best friend and intercessor with the Romans, in case they should at any time be able to escape to their camp. His mother, who was then detained in prison, was struck with the utmost grief and anguish at hearing this false report; and though she affected to seem unmoved before her goalers, telling them she had lost

lost her son three years before, and that he had been dead to her ever since the time of the siege of Jotapata; yet, when none but her women were present, she gave a loose to all her grief, lamenting her hard fate in not being able to pay the last duties to him from whom she had hoped to receive them. Neither her grief nor the triumph of the factious was of long duration. Josephus, recovering of his wound, was soon able to make his appearance again; and denouncing speedy vengeance and impending ruin on them all, if they continued to persist in their obstinacy, he still exhorted the people to trust to the clemency of the Romans. Numbers believed him, and the Jews began again to desert. But the wrath of Heaven still pursued that guilty people, who found destruction where they sought for safety.

Dreadful fate of the deserters who went over to the Roman camp.

Numbers who fled for shelter to the Romans lost their lives, by a too sudden transition from the utmost extremity of want to plenty. Famished as they were, and ready to die of hunger, they fell greedily on what victuals were set before them, and imprudently overloading their weak and empty stomachs, were suffocated for want of being able to digest what they ate. Those who escaped that danger by prudence and moderation, fell into another yet greater. Most of the Jews, as I before said, swallowed their gold when they left the city, and afterwards found it in their excrements. A Syrian belonging to Titus's army happening to discover one of them searching for his treasure, it was immediately reported in the camp that the bellies of the Jews who came over to them were filled with gold. The Arabs, hearing it, ripped open all they could lay hands on, in hopes of finding money in their bowels. Some of the Romans, too, following their cruel example, were barbarous enough to do the same. A vast number fell victims to their unbounded

bounded avarice; two thousand were butchered in that manner in one night only.

Titus being informed of these inhuman proceedings, which reflected shame and dishonour on the Roman name, was highly incensed against the perpetrators of such cruelties. In the first heat of his indignation he ordered all the delinquents to be brought together, and a body of horse to surround and shoot them with their arrows. But their number was so great when collected, that he thought it more prudent to content himself with forbidding them ever to commit such outrages again on pain of death. The avarice of the soldiers, and their lawless thirst after gold, was stronger than his commands; for they still continued their cruelties, though less openly. They lay in wait for the Jews as they fled from the city, and before they could be perceived from the camp, seized and ripped them open. God *, says Josephus, had decreed the death of those whom Titus was inclined to spare, and turned to their destruction what should have been their safety.

Misery of the people of Jerusalem

Prodigious number of the dead.

Thus were the people of Jerusalem between two extremes equally hard and cruel. To leave the city was to rush on ruin; and it was not possible to subsist within it. A measure of corn sold for a talent; whilst hunger and want forced the poor famished people to rake the kennels and dunghills, and devour the scraps and offals they found in them, which at another time they could not even have looked at without loathing. Such sort of food was as fatal to them as famine itself, and infinite numbers died of both. One Mannæus, who had the keeping of one of the city gates, going over to the Romans, assured Titus that from the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus †, when the siege

* Θεὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ τῷ λαῷ πάντας κατακρίνας, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς σωτήριας ὁδὸν εἰς ἀπωλέιαν ἀποστρέφων. *Jos. de B. Jud.* vi. 15.

† April.

siege began, to the first of the month Panæmus *, being eighty days, an hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies had been carried out at that gate only where he was posted. According to others, and those people of distinction among the Jews who came over to the Romans, the number of dead carried out of the city in that time amounted to six hundred thousand. Though their only burial consisted in throwing the bodies into the brooks and torrents near the walls, yet those who performed that office could not suffice at last. Heaps of dead remained in the streets, and were piled up in empty houses, which were afterwards locked, that none might see them.

The tyrannical authors of the public woe could not, as I before said, screen themselves any longer from sharing in it. They had no stock of provisions of their own, and could no longer plunder any thing from a people perishing with hunger. The consecrated vessels of gold, which John, when master of the temple, had melted down, were a poor resource in a place where no kind of food could be purchased. The flesh of the victims which were still brought to be offered upon the altar became his property; he seized it, and likewise converted to his own use, and that of his satellites, the wine and oil destined for the offerings and sacrifices. His iniquity was such, that instead of being terrified by that sacrilegious rapine, he made a joke of it, saying, that the defenders of religion had a right to what was consecrated to religion; and that they who protected the temple were entitled to a support from the temple. Notwithstanding the excess of their distress, the factious still persisted in their obstinacy, and would not think of surrendering on any account. Though they could not possibly expect to conquer, they still resolved to

The factious themselves begin to feel the famine. John's sacrilegious rapines.

Deut. vii. 1 and vi. 14

* July.

to hold out and die, well knowing that all hopes of pardon were cut off.

Titus erects other platforms.

Besides the reasons which had already made Titus resolve to conquer their desperate pride by force, he could not behold the extreme misery of the wretched inhabitants of Jerusalem without feeling for them, and still wished to preserve the remains of that unhappy people, by hastening the taking of their city and the destruction of their tyrants. He therefore resolved to erect new platforms, though he was obliged to send ninety stadia off for wood to build them, all the trees near the city having been made use of before. He again raised four platforms, but larger than the former, all designed against fort Antonia.

Fort Antonia taken. Jos. vii. 1.

The Jews were no longer so audacious as at the beginning of the siege: they let the Romans go on with their works without interrupting them by their sallies. But when John saw the platforms finished, being sensible of the greatness of the danger, he attemped to set them on fire before the batteries were erected. Accordingly the Jews sallied out with lighted torches; but their attack was as weak as the defence which the Romans made was brave and vigorous. The Jews retreated to their city after a few vain efforts, upbraiding each other with want of resolution.

The Romans thereupon immediately placed their rams on the platforms; and, in spite of the showers of darts and stones with which the enemy annoyed them, began to batter the walls, which were so strong that the rams made no impression on them, though several were broken and blunted by the violence of the blows; upon which a body of Roman soldiers, forming themselves into the tortoise, with their shields over them, set about sapping the foundations, and with great labour and difficulty at last loosened four stones. Night coming on, they proceeded no further.

Though

Though the wall had stood all the efforts of the battering-rams, it was shaken and weakened by the repeated shocks; the foundations too were considerably damaged by the removal of the four stones; and at last the ground itself gave way at the place where John had dug the mine by which he destroyed the former platforms; by that means a great piece of the wall fell down of itself, and left a wide opening.

The Romans concluded themselves victorious when they first saw it; but when they came to examine the breach, they were greatly surprised to find their progress stopped at once by a wall which John had taken care to build up within the other. Josephus gives us no great idea of the courage of Titus's troops on this occasion; for he observes that the attack was become much easier; that the ruins of the wall that fell might have served for steps up to the breach; and that the new wall was not near so strong as the old one, nor so able to resist, being built in a hurry. Notwithstanding these advantages, no one Roman soldier chose to venture the assault; they were all afraid; and, indeed, those who first mounted could not but be exposed to great danger. In vain did Titus exhort his troops, and endeavour to inspire them with courage, by telling them how much their honour was concerned in completing a victory so far advanced. They heard him without the least emotion, and flatly refused to march. One only, by birth a Syrian, a little deformed fellow, but endowed with a great and heroic soul, addressing himself to Titus, said, 'I am ready, Cæsar, to be the first to mount the 'breach; may your fortune be equal to my cou-'rage! If I am disappointed in that wish, at least 'I shall not be so in what I expect; for I well 'know that I am going to certain death, and I 'do it voluntarily.' So saying, Sabinus, for that was the soldier's name, covering his head with his

shield, advanced sword in hand towards the breach. Eleven of his comrades followed, encouraged by his brave example; and they twelve, conducted by their ardour only, boldly ventured, at noon-day, to assault a breach crowded with enemies and machines of war.

I confess myself at a loss, on this occasion, to account for that strictness of discipline for which the Romans were so famous. Either the historian must have consulted his own imagination more than truth, or Titus must have tolerated a licentiousness more agreeable to the impetuosity of barbarians than to valour guided by obedience.

However that may be, so rash an action met the reward it deserved. Sabinus got up to the breach, but his foot slipping, he fell, and though he behaved with undaunted bravery to the last, the darts and arrows of the Jews reached and killed him. Three of his companions died with him, and the surviving eight returned back to the camp covered with wounds. The text of Josephus, as we have it, dates this event the third of the month Panæmus; but, from what follows, I am inclined to think it a mistake, and that it should be the thirteenth.

Two days after, that is to say, on the fifteenth of that month, fort Antonia was taken by storm; an event likewise owing to the impetuosity of some of the soldiers who acted without their general's command, if we believe Josephus. Towards the beginning of the fourth watch of the night, twenty of the soldiers appointed to guard the platforms, having agreed to hazard the attempt, got an ensign of the fifth legion, with two horsemen and a trumpeter, to join them, and all together drew up to the breach as silently as they could. They found the guards asleep, killed them, and, taking possession of the tower, ordered their trumpeter to sound an attack. The Jews in the tower, awakened by that

that signal, were struck with terror, and fled to the temple, thinking the whole Roman army was at their heels. At the same time Titus, warned by the trumpet, ordered all his troops to arms, and, putting himself at their head, was the first that entered fort Antonia.

The mine before spoken of still remained entire. A considerable body of the Romans marching on in it came to the entrance of the temple, where a most bloody and obstinate fight ensued. John and Simon, uniting their forces, did all they could to prevent the taking of the temple, which would have been their utter ruin. Both sides were so closely engaged, that whoever was foremost was of necessity forced to kill or be killed; for there was no possibility of retreating, the hindmost ranks pressing close on those before them, and filling up the whole space from side to side. If any fell, the next, stepping over them, took their places. Both sides behaved a long time with equal bravery, and the fight lasted ten hours; that is to say, from nine at night till seven in the morning. At last despair got the better of courage, supported only by desire of conquest. The Jews saved the temple, and the Romans remained masters of fort Antonia.

Whilst they were retreating thither in no small disorder, a centurion called Julian, who till then had stood next to Titus, and observed the various turns of the battle, fired with indignation at sight of the Romans flying before the Jews, rushed in among them, and performed such prodigies of valour that he forced the Jews to fly in their turn; but unfortunately his shoes having nails in them, such as all the troops at that time wore, his foot slipped on a flat stone, and he fell: the enemy surrounded him instantly, and ran him through with lances before he could recover himself.

Cessation of the perpetual sacrifice.

On the seventeenth of the same month the perpetual sacrifice ceased for want of lambs*. That sacrifice, as every one knows, consisted in a daily offering of two lambs, one in the morning, and the other in the evening. This misfortune had never happened before since the last dedication of the temple by Judas Maccabeus. The people were extremely alarmed and terrified at it; and to this day the Jews observe a solemn fast on that occasion, the seventeenth day of their tenth month.

Tille. Ruine des Juifs. Art. 70.

Further but still fruitless attempts of Titus to prevail on the besieged to surrender the city and temple. Jos. vii. 4.

Titus, who really wished to save the temple, took that opportunity to try once more to surmount the inflexible obstinacy of the besieged. He ordered Josephus to tell John, that if he was so very fond of war, he should have leave to march out with as many as he pleased of his partizans, but that he ought not to persist in bringing on the destruction of the city and temple together with his own fall; that he should cease to defile the holy place, and sin no longer against his God. Titus went yet further, offering to supply him with victims to continue the sacrifice, the interruption of which gave the whole nation so much concern. Josephus made these offers to John in the vulgar tongue of the country, that the people too might understand him. But the haughty tyrant answered only with curses and imprecations, with which he loaded Josephus; and concluded with saying, he was not afraid that a city, of which God was the protector, could be taken by the Romans. Josephus replied, with scorn and indignation, 'Thou 'hast, doubtless, great reason to trust in God, for 'the great care thou takest to preserve his city 'and temple pure and undefiled; such as becomes 'him who is the fountain of holiness. He cannot

* The text of Josephus says for want of men, which I think is a mistake; and that instead of Ἀνδρῶν, men, it should be Ἀρνῶν, lambs.

'not but be pleased with thy constant care to offer 'up sacrifices to him. Wretch that thou art! in 'vain dost thou accuse the Romans, infinitely 'more religious, more zealous for our laws and 'holy ceremonies, than thou art. What grief 'must not every one feel from such a parallel! 'what tears must it not draw from every eye! 'Strangers, and they too enemies, respect our 'temple; whilst thou, though born a Jew, and 'brought up under the guardianship of our holy 'laws, becomest the subverter and destroyer of 'them.' Josephus added, that it was not yet too late to repent, and that he was empowered by the Romans to offer him pardon and impunity. Neither reproaches nor promises could make any impression on John. He interrupted Josephus, and again insulted and abused him, calling him a traitor to his country, and a vile slave to the Romans. 'Too late I see,' replied Josephus with a sigh, 'that I am struggling against the will of God in 'attempting to save those whom he has condemn-'ed. This wretched, this unhappy temple, must 'be purified by flames. It is God*, it is God 'himself who sends the Romans to set fire to it, 'and who destroys a city polluted by sin and 'guilt.' He could say no more, tears interrupting his speech.

His embassy was, however, not quite fruitless; several men of note made their escape from Jerusalem, and went over to Titus, who received them with great kindness, and, fearing lest they should not be easy in the midst of a foreign army, gave them leave to retire to Gophna, a little town hard by, to live there after their own manner; at the same time assuring them, that whatever they had

* Θεὸς ἄρα, Θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπάγει μετὰ Ῥωμαίων καθάρσιον αὐτῷ (τῷ ἱερῷ) πῦρ, καὶ τῶν τοσούτων μιασμάτων γέμουσαν πόλιν ἀνασπάζει. Jos.

left behind should be faithfully restored when the war was over. The factious, finding they did not return, took that opportunity to give out that they had been murdered by Titus's order; but the prince, being informed of that report, ordered them back to his camp, and those illustrious fugitives, two of whom had been high-priests, showed themselves to the besieged, conjuring them, with tears, not to force the Romans to destroy that temple which they wished to save. Their entreaties had no more weight than those of Josephus. The more pains that were taken to move the tyrants and their satellites, the more perverse and hardened they grew; and, fully determined to reject all offers of peace, they erected their batteries over the sacred doors; by which means, says Josephus, the whole circuit of the temple was filled with dead bodies, and looked like one of those places in which the slain are piled up after a battle; and the holy place, surrounded on all sides with engines of war, seemed more like a fortress than the house of God. As impious as they were intractable, they profaned the sanctuary without remorse; and, armed as they were, and covered with the blood of their brethren, they took up their quarters in that awful place where the high-priest only was permitted to enter once a year. Their impiety made the very Romans shudder; for, even among them, there was not (if we may credit Josephus) a soldier who did not respect the temple, and grieve to see it so wickedly profaned.

Titus especially was grieved to the soul, and again sent Josephus to the besieged, once more to try to make them sensible of the heinousness of their crimes, and exhort them to repent. 'Hear,' said Josephus to them, 'what Cæsar declares unto 'you by my mouth; thus does he address you. I 'take to witness the gods of our forefathers, and 'that God who once did protect this place, (for 'he

'he has now thrown it off, and looks upon it no 'more,) I take to witness my army, the Jews that 'are within my camp, and you yourselves, that I 'do not force you to defile a temple which you 'ought to honour and revere. If you will consent 'to change that field of battle for another, no 'Roman shall go near your temple; and, let 'what will happen, in spite of yourselves I will 'preserve it for you.' The perverse Jews, instead of acknowledging Titus's goodness and clemency in this pathetic speech, still imputed it to fear and cowardice, and even made a jest of it, so that Titus was absolutely obliged to have recourse to force of arms.

He assaults the temple, but without success.

Resolving, therefore, to assault the temple, he draughted thirty men out of each company, and gave the command of every thousand of the body so formed to a tribune, intending to head them in person. But his officers begging he would not expose himself to such imminent danger, he desisted from his first design, and gave the command of the attack to Cerialis, probably son of him whom we have before seen commander of the legions on the Rhine, and warring successfully against Civilis and the Batavians. Titus posted himself in a high part of fort Antonia, from whence he could see all that passed, and be able to encourage his men by the presence of their prince, in whose power it was to punish or reward.

The attack began towards the fourth watch of the night. The Jews were ready, and prepared for their defence with all speed. The confusion was great on both sides so long as the night lasted; soldiers of the same party could not distinguish one another, and often mistook friends for foes: but the appearance of day brought order with it, and at the same time heightened the animosity of both sides. The assailants and the besieged, seeing and knowing that they were seen, redoubled their fury.

Every man kept firm to his post, and endeavoured to gain ground. If any happened to be forced back, the space being too narrow for them to retreat either to the right or left, they were of necessity obliged to return to the charge, which they did with such vigour, that their adversaries were repulsed in their turn. Sometimes one and sometimes the other side prevailed, but neither gained any decisive advantage; and after fighting in that manner till five o'clock in the morning, both sides being tired, the Romans retreated, and the Jews kept possession of the temple.

Titus prepares to attack the temple with his engines.

Titus, having miscarried in the assault, resolved to attack the temple with his engines. He ordered part of fort Antonia to be thrown down, to open a passage wide enough for his whole army to march up to the temple, and directed four new platforms to be raised over against four different parts of the north and west fronts. The task was extremely laborious, his men being obliged to go upwards of an hundred stadia for wood; nor did the Jews suffer the Romans to proceed unmolested. Though they attempted no general sallies, they laid snares for them, and often succeeded, by so much the more easily as the Romans, sure of conquering at last, were not greatly upon their guard. The cavalry especially were very negligent of their horses, and, whilst they were gathering wood or forage, left them to feed by themselves. The Jews were sure to catch at a prey of such importance to men quite famished, and carried off numbers of horses on these occasions. Titus was forced to be more severe than he would have chosen, to stop the increasing negligence of his troops. He ordered one of his men, who returned without his horse, to be put to death, as a warning to the rest, on whom it had the desired effect.

In the mean time, some of the besieged, finding their danger increase daily, concerted together, and got

got out of the city on the side next the mount of Olives, hoping to get over the wall, and escape into the country. To that end they chose the eleventh hour, which was the time when the troops supped, thinking they might pass unnoticed by the enemy more easily then than at any other time; but they were mistaken. The Romans perceived them, and immediately sallying out from the neighbouring castles, stopped and drove them back to the valley. Josephus mentions on this occasion a most extraordinary instance of strength and agility in a Roman horseman, who, pursuing a Jew, caught him by the heel, lifted him up in the air, and in that manner carried him alive to his general. The soldier was rewarded, and the prisoner put to death.

The Jews themselves set fire to the galleries of the temple, and the Romans follow their example.

The Jews, seeing the platforms advance hourly, desperately resolved to set fire to the galleries of communication between fort Antonia and the temple. A space twenty cubits long was consumed by the flames, those wretches themselves being the first that dared venture to burn any of the buildings belonging to the holy place. The Romans followed their example two days after, by setting fire to another gallery, doubtless in hopes that the flames would spread, and thereby facilitate their passage to the inner temple. But the Jews stopped the progress of the fire by pulling down part of the roof of the gallery, their sole endeavour being to preserve the part in which they could still defend themselves; for they were glad to see that next fort, Antonia, destroyed.

They still continued to fight vigorously, and frequently added cunning to bravery. After filling the upper part of the western gallery, between the roof and the rafters that supported it, with dry wood, pitch, and other combustibles, they provoked the Romans to an engagement, and after fighting a little while, pretending not to be able to stand their ground, they gave way, and fell back in seeming disorder.

disorder. Their too sudden retreat made the more prudent of the Romans suspect treachery; but the greater number, hurried on by desire of conquest, pursued them, and climbed up into the gallery with the help of ladders. The Jews then set fire to the combustibles, and in a moment the Romans were surrounded with flames. Almost all of them perished, for it was impossible to give them any assistance. Titus pitied them, though it was not by his order that they were in such danger; but he could not assist them. The fire burned so furiously that none dared to approach it. Some fell upon their own swords, to avoid a more painful death: the rest perished in the flames, or were killed by the Jews.

Josephus has recorded a remarkable transaction in his account of this disaster. A soldier, whom he calls Artorius, seeing one of his comrades below, called out to him, saying, 'I make you my 'heir, if you will catch me in your arms:' to which the other agreeing, Artorius leaped down, and fell with such weight that he beat the breath out of his friend's body, but saved his own life.

The loss which the Romans sustained on this occasion taught them to be more cautious for the future. The Jews too had lost a very essential part of their defence by the fire, and were more exposed than ever. They themselves had burnt part of the western gallery, and beat down the remainder of it, to prevent the escape of those that were in it; and the next day the Romans demolished the north gallery quite to the valley of Cedron.

Dreadful effects of the famine. A mother eats her own child.

The city was more than ever distressed and desolated by famine. It raged with such violence as armed not only the banditti against the people, but citizen against citizen. The most intimate friends and nearest relations quarrelled and fought for whatever could possibly be converted into food. Husbands snatched it from their wives, and mothers from their children. But one circumstance

Jos. vi. 11.

was

was yet wanting to fulfil entirely what was prophesied by Christ just before his death, when he foretold the Jews that a time would come in which they should say, 'Blessed are the barren, and the wombs 'that never bare, and the paps which never gave 'suck.' That prophetic menace was fully accomplished, and a most shocking instance given of the dreadful degree to which the famine raged, by a mother's feeding on the flesh of her own child. Luke xxiii. 29. Jos. vii. 8.

Her name was Mary; her birth and fortune distinguished. She had come from beyond the Jordan for shelter in Jerusalem, as many others had likewise done. Soon after her arrival there, the factious stripped her of all the money she had. Her next resource was her jewels, which she had taken care to conceal. These she sold by degrees to purchase food; and even that was often taken from her by the same lawless ravishers. Driven at last to the utmost extremity of want, and almost starved to death; hunger, and indignation against those monsters, the tyrants of Jerusalem, prevailed over the sentiments of nature. Tearing her sucking infant from her breast, 'Unhappy offspring 'of my womb,' said she, 'for whom have I reser-'ved thee in these woeful times of war, tyranny, 'and famine? since thou must perish, thou shalt 'even serve to prolong thy mother's life.' So saying, she killed her child, cut it in pieces, roasted and ate some, and set the rest by for another time. Some soldiers, hunting for prey, smelling somewhat roasted, rushed in upon her, and asked, with a menacing voice, what she had been eating. Mary, hardened by the dreadful deed she had just committed, showing them what remained of that horrid food, 'It is my own child,' said she, 'that I 'have been eating of, and you are welcome to 'partake with me. Are you more squeamish than 'a woman, or more tender-hearted than a mo-'ther?' Hardened as the soldiers were in guilt, and

and inured to every crime, they were struck dumb at the shocking sight, and fled quite terrified, telling all they met how dreadful a thing they had seen. The Romans, hearing of it, were more incensed than ever, and conceived the utmost detestation against a people capable of committing so unnatural a crime. Titus was greatly shocked, and, lifting up his hands towards heaven, took God to witness that he was not the cause, for that he had never ceased to offer peace; at the same time vowing to bury the remembrance of that most execrable deed under the ruins of the city in which it was committed.

Titus opens a passage to the very body of the temple, by setting fire to part of the building.

He made his words good. Being already master of a considerable part of the court of the Gentiles, he attacked the inner buildings which covered the altar and holy place on both sides at once. He set his batteries to work against them, and tried to sap their foundations; but the walls were so strongly built, and the stones so large and well cemented, that no part gave way. He then ordered the scaling-ladders to be brought, and an assault to be attempted; but that too miscarried. The Jews defended themselves so vigorously that they had the advantage, and even took some of the Roman standards. At last, with great reluctance, proceeding from his desire to save the temple, Titus was obliged to order the gates of the inner court to be set on fire. The flames soon raged with violence; and the Jews, according to Josephus, were so alarmed and terrified thereat, that all their courage forsook them, and they stood quite motionless, looking with horror and amaze at the fire, instead of trying to put it out, or prevent its spreading. The flames communicated to several parts, and burnt a whole day and night with such violence, that they must soon have consumed the whole building, had not Titus, who still wanted to preserve at least the sanctuary, ordered some of his troops

troops to extinguish the fire, and clear away the ruins of what was already burnt, to make a wide and commodious opening for the legions.

Titus holds a council, in which it is resolved to spare the temple.

While that work was carrying on, after which one assault more was to be decisive, Titus, still as desirous to save the temple as the Jews were obstinately bent on burying themselves in its ruins, held a council to consider what was most proper to be done with respect to that famous building, or rather with a view to inculcate in his chief officers those sentiments of mildness and clemency which he himself had, and of which he was determined to pursue the dictates. Some were for proceeding with the utmost rigour, saying it was absolutely necessary to destroy the temple entirely, if they would secure their conquest; for that, so long as it should subsist, the Jews, from every quarter of the world, would still flock thither as to a place of general rendezvous, and never be at rest. Others more mild proposed letting the temple stand, on condition that the Jews should evacuate and cease to defend it; but if they refused these terms, and still persisted in their obstinacy, it ought, said they, in their opinion, no longer to be considered and respected as a temple, but be treated as an enemy's fortress, the destruction of which was an act of justice due to the Romans, and could be thought irreligious by none but the Jews. Titus, having heard his council, declared that he was firmly resolved not to inflict on an innocent inanimate building a punishment due to the perverse defenders of it, and that he never would consent to burn that magnificent edifice, the ruin of which would be a loss to the Romans themselves, and which, if preserved, would be one of the finest ornaments of their empire. The council, hearing their prince declare his sentiments so positively, agreed to what he said, some out of inclination, others out of policy; and accordingly it was resolved to spare the temple.

temple. But* a much higher council had ordained otherwise, nor was it in the power of Titus to save what God had decreed should perish.

The temple burnt, notwithstanding Titus's orders and utmost efforts to save it.

The next day, tenth of the month Lous†, being the very day on which the temple of Solomon was burnt many ages before by Nabuchodonosor, proved that on which the Almighty had decreed the ruin of the second temple. Early in the morning the Jews sallied out at the eastern gate, and attacked the Romans who guarded the outer court of the temple. The engagement was so warm and obstinate, that Titus was obliged to go from fort Antonia to the assistance of his men; nor was it without some loss and difficulty that he repulsed the besieged, who fought like madmen; after which, returning to the fort, he resolved to give a general assault the next day.

The Jews did not wait his coming; their impatience was too great to admit of rest. Those who had the guard of the temple itself, again attacked the Romans busied in extinguishing the fire, which still consumed the outer galleries; but their attack not succeeding, they took to flight, and by that means drew their victorious enemies, who pursued them, up to the foot of the wall of the inner court. At that instant a Roman soldier, without waiting for orders from any officer, but‡, says Josephus, inspired from above, snatching up a firebrand, and climbing upon one of his comrade's shoulders, threw it in at a window of the apartments contiguous to the sanctuary on the north side. The despair and anguish of the Jews, when they saw the flames break out there, is not to be expressed; their temple, the sole object of their zeal and

* Τῷ δὲ ὄντι (ναῷ) κατεψήφιστο μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὁ Θεὸς πάλαι. *Jos.*

† The month Lous answers to our month of August.

‡ Δαιμονίῳ τινὶ ὁρμῇ χρώμενος.

and attachment, was on the point of being destroyed; all sense of fear, all apprehension of danger to themselves, vanished instantly, and they rushed headlong amidst the flames and swords. The Romans still drove them back, and the fire increased every moment.

Titus, who was resting himself in fort Antonia after the fatigue of the morning's fight, hearing that the temple was on fire, immediately ran to try to save it, and was followed by his whole army. He called out to the soldiers, waved his hand, and made signs to them, but in vain; nothing could stop their impetuous rage; neither commands nor menaces were heeded; but hatred, thirst of revenge, and desire of plunder, prevailed in all over the respect due to their prince's will. Not only those who first set fire to the building, but the legions too which came up with Titus, strove to increase it, instead of putting it out, and slew and cut to pieces all they met, armed or unarmed, soldiers or citizens, without distinction. The temple was filled with heaps of slain, and the very altar was covered with blood.

Titus, finding all his endeavours fruitless, was desirous to see the inside of the temple, which he accordingly entered with some of his chief officers. The riches and magnificence which he beheld there made him wish still more to save at least the sanctuary, which the flames had not yet reached. He again gave orders, more strict, but as ineffectual as before. The troops, guided by their cupidity, would hear no remonstrances; the gold that glittered in every part of the outer buildings, of which they were already masters, made them conclude they could not fail of an immense booty if they penetrated further. At the same time, a soldier getting into the sanctuary, set fire to the doors, and Titus, finding all his endeavours to stem the torrent fruitless, retired and left them.

Thus

Thus was the temple of Jerusalem burnt, six hundred and thirty-nine years after its being rebuilt, and eleven hundred and thirty years after its first foundation by Solomon. A new temple had made some amends for the loss of the old one; but this disaster was beyond all remedy. Julian the apostate, in attempting to build it up again three hundred years after, only proved how irrevocably God had cursed a place in which he had before so long delighted. The temple was to subsist till the coming of the Messias, but was no longer serviceable; nay, it became hurtful, and even dangerous, after the promulgation of the gospel of Christ.

The Jews deluded to the very last by their false prophets.

A very extraordinary circumstance is, that the Jews were so blinded as to suffer their false prophets to deceive them to the very last moment. Whilst the siege lasted, the tyrants had taken care to have emissaries, whom they hired, always ready to mislead the people, and spur them on, saying, the Lord of Hosts would assist and deliver them. Even while the temple was burning, six thousand men, women, and children, gave ear to an impostor, who exhorted them to climb up on the roof of one of the galleries that yet remained standing, telling them that God would there manifest his power, and save them. They did as he advised; and the Romans setting fire to the gallery, every one of them perished in the flames.

The Jews warned by God before their last disaster.

Well did they deserve to be deluded by lying prophets for their having crucified the great Author of truth. Christ had plainly foretold them their last disaster, and God was pleased to give them yet further warning some short time before the siege. I say nothing of the armed chariots, and troops of warriors, that were seen fighting in the air; that might be the natural effect of a phenomenon then not understood, but which we are now well acquainted with, and call the *aurora borealis*, or northern lights. Nor do I lay any great stress upon a fact which,

which, however, cannot be eluded by any interpretation whatever. On the night preceding the feast of Pentecost, the priests, going into the holy place, according to custom, to perform their functions, heard first a kind of confused noise, and afterwards several articulate voices pronouncing hastily, but very distinctly, these words, 'Let us be gone.' Doubtless they were the guardian angels, protectors of the Jewish nation, now leaving the sanctuary, become the object of the wrath of God. Sceptics may still ascribe this to the superstitious credulity of the priests, of Josephus, and of Tacitus; but what I have further to mention is still more extraordinary; a miracle, if I may be allowed the expression on this occasion, which lasted years, and was attended with such circumstances as leave no room for doubt, if any degree of credit can be given to Josephus. Jos. vii. 12. and Tac. Hist. v. 13.

A peasant, whose name was Jesus, going up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles, four years before the war, at a time when the city enjoyed perfect peace and plenty, on a sudden began to cry out, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the 'west, a voice from the four corners of the world, 'a voice against Jerusalem and against the temple, 'a voice against brides and bridegrooms, a voice 'against the whole nation.' He continued repeating these dismal words day and night, without ceasing, through all the streets of Jerusalem. Some of the chief inhabitants, disturbed by his ill-boding cry, had him taken up and whipped, thinking that would silence him. Not a groan, a sigh, or the least lamentation, escaped him, nor did he once complain of those that beat him, but still continued uttering the same threats. He was carried before the Roman magistrate, and by his order whipped till his bones were laid bare; notwithstanding which, he neither begged for mercy nor even shed a tear, but with a doleful voice cried Jos.

out at every lash, 'Woe to Jerusalem.' He was not seen to speak to any one, nor to ask for the necessaries of life. Neither those who beat and abused him, nor those who gave him food, could extort any thing but the same mournful words from him. On high days and festivals he was louder than at other times, and in that manner he continued seven years and five months without seeming fatigued, or his voice being at all weakened. At last, when the siege was actually formed, going round the walls, and still pronouncing the same dismal threats, 'Woe to the city,' cried he, 'woe to the people, 'woe to the temple, and woe to myself.' He had scarcely uttered these last words when a stone from one of the Roman engines struck him dead on the spot. So extraordinary and unparalleled an event needs no comment. The reader may, if he pleases, consult the pious and learned M. Bossuet's Universal History on this subject. I resume the thread of my narration.

All that remained of the outer court of the temple burnt. Priests put to death.

After setting fire to the most sacred place of all, the Romans thought they had no occasion to spare any of its adjacent parts. They burnt what remained standing of the galleries, gates, and doors, and particularly the treasury, in which they found an immense booty in money, rich furniture, jewels, and vases of gold and silver; in short, the whole riches of the Jews; for every man had deposited there all his most valuable effects, judging it an inviolable sanctuary. The immense value of the plunder which the Romans made there may best be imagined by this circumstance, that gold fell to half the price it was at before in Syria.

The Romans, being masters of the whole extent of the temple, brought all their standards thither, sacrificed to them on the very spot, and with shouts of joy proclaimed Titus Imperator.

Several of the Jewish priests retired to the top of the wall, which was eight cubits thick, when they

they first saw the fire break out in the sanctuary. There they staid five days, till at last hunger forced them down, and they surrendered at discretion. They were carried to Titus, from whom they implored forgiveness in vain. He told them they came too late for mercy; that the object, in favour of which he might have pardoned them before, was no more; and that the priests should perish with the temple. Accordingly they were all put to death.

Though the temple was taken and destroyed, the tyrants and their satellites had still a resource left in the upper city, to which they retreated, and by the surrender of which they might yet have compounded and obtained forgiveness. Titus offered to pardon them on these terms, in a parley he was pleased to grant them on the bridge between the temple and Sion. They were insolent enough to reject his proposal, because, said those godly men, they did not dare to break the vow they had made never to surrender; but desired he would give them leave to quit the place with their wives and children, and retire to the deserts. Titus was so incensed at their behaviour, that he immediately ordered a proclamation to be published with sound of trumpet, forbidding any of the besieged to come over to his camp, and declaring that he would no longer show them any mercy. At the same time he ordered that part of the city which he had long been in possession of, and which he had spared till then, to be burnt, and new platforms to be erected, in order to reduce what still resisted.

Titus is again obliged to lay siege to the upper city, which holds out near a month. He at last takes it by main force.

This work took up a considerable time, the Romans being obliged, as I before observed, to fetch their wood from a hundred stadia distance. All this while the wretched remains of the people shut up in Sion suffered the utmost extremities of famine, and redoubled rage and barbarity from their unrelenting tyrants. Their distress and misery

was beyond conception; and indeed so great, that notwithstanding Titus's express declaration, and the cruel vigilance of the guards set over them by their tyrants, who watched every passage, and massacred without mercy all that were caught attempting to make their escape, numbers of Jews did fly over to the Roman camp, as to the only asylum they had any chance to find. They indeed saved their lives by so doing; for Titus's humanity would not suffer him to execute what he had threatened. All he did was to appoint judges to examine which of them were real objects of pity, and which had barred the doors of mercy by their crimes. The latter were put to death, and the others were either sold for slaves, or set at liberty.

At length the works were finished, and, on the seventh of the month Gorpiæus *, the battering-rams began to play. The behaviour of the factious was no longer of a piece with their former pride and haughtiness. They ought, after having carried things to such extremes, at least to have fallen sword in hand; but they were so far from being capable of that resolution, that the moment they saw a breach made in their wall, they thought of nothing but securing their lives by hiding themselves in subterraneous vaults and passages, hoping to remain there undiscovered till the Romans should leave the country, and them at liberty to appear again. With this view they abandoned their walls, and the towers Hippicos, Phasael, and Mariamne, whose strength and solidity baffled all the force of the Roman engines, and from whence nothing but famine could have dislodged those that were in them. The Romans hoisted their standards on the walls, and rejoicing in their conquest, much more easily obtained than they expected, entered the place, cut down all before them,

* September.

them, and set fire to the buildings. The flames uniting from different parts, the whole city of Jerusalem became one vast blaze in the night of the eighth of the month Gorpiæus.

Titus sensible that he was only the instrument of divine vengeance Phil. Apoll. Tyan. l. vi. c. 29.

Titus, entering the place, could not but admire the strength and solidity of the towers the tyrants had so inconsiderately abandoned; and turning to his friends, 'God *,' said he, 'has been our conductor in this war; it is God who has driven the 'Jews from these fortresses, against which all the 'strength of man, and of our engines, could not 'have availed.' So thoroughly was he convinced of that truth, that when the several nations of the empire sent him crowns according to custom, some time after, in honour of his victory, he frequently † declared he thought them not his due. 'It was not I that conquered,' he would say; 'I 'was only the instrument of divine vengeance.' He let the three towers I have been speaking of stand (though he demolished all the rest of the fortifications and walls) as a monument to posterity of the signal protection with which Heaven had blessed his arms.

Prisoners and their fate.

When the first rage of slaughter was appeased, Titus ordered his troops not to kill any Jew who should surrender and lay down his arms. The soldiers, however, still continued for some time killing, out of mere wantonness and inhumanity, those whom age or infirmities rendered unfit for service. The rest, amounting to a very great number, were collected together in the temple, and shut up in one of the enclosures called the women's court. Titus sent one of his freedmen to guard

 them,

* Σὺν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσαμεν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ τῶνδε τοὺς ἐρυμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθελων· ἐπεὶ χεῖρές τε ἀνθρώπων ἢ μήχαναι τί πρὸς τούτους τοὺς πύργους δύνανται. *Jos.* vii. 16.

† Ὁ τὲ οὐκ ἤξιου ἑαυτὸν τούτου· μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς ταῦτα εἴργασθαι, Θεῷ δὲ ὀργὴν φήναντι ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας. *Philost.*

them, and ordered Fronto, one of the chief officers of his army, to examine them, and decide their fate according to their deserts. All such as were proved, by the concurrent testimony of their countrymen, to have been instigators of or instrumental in the crimes of their tyrants, were put to death. The tallest and most comely of the youth were reserved to grace the victor's triumph. The rest were divided into two bodies. Such as were above seventeen years old were chained and sent to Egypt to work as slaves, or distributed in the neighbouring provinces to divert the people, by making them fight against wild beasts, or with one another; children, and others under seventeen, were sold.

Josephus saves some of them. Jos. vit.

In this disaster of the Jewish nation, some of that people found a friend in Josephus. Titus, who had a great value for him, gave him leave to choose out of the plunder whatever he liked best. The first thing Josephus asked for was all the copies that should be found of the books of the law; most probably in order to preserve them from profanation. Next to them, nothing appeared to him of so high estimation as the welfare of persons of free condition. He therefore desired and obtained life and liberty for his brother, and fifty of his friends. He visited the prisoners that were locked up in the women's court, and all that were known to him, or for whom he seemed to interest himself, to the number of a hundred and ninety, were immediately set free without ransom. Some time after, returning from Thecua, where he had been by Titus's order to examine whether that place was fit for an encampment, he saw several Jews crucified near the road, and among them three whom he knew. He ran directly to Titus, and, with tears in his eyes, related what he had seen. The prince was kind enough to order those whom Josephus protected to be taken down immediately, and their

their wounds to be dressed with all possible care. Two of them died, but the third recovered.

Josephus reckons that not less than eleven hundred thousand souls perished in the siege of Jerusalem, by fire, sword, misery, and famine: most of them were Jews, though not all inhabitants of Jerusalem; for numbers had resorted thither from other parts to the feast of the passover. If to this number we add all that were killed in the several battles fought out of Jerusalem, and in the taking of the several towns which the Romans stormed, we shall find that the Jews lost in the whole course of the war one million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety men. The number of prisoners during the war amounted, according to the same historian, to ninety-seven thousand.

Number of dead and prisoners. Jos. vii. 17.

Usher, Annal.

The Jews have never since been able to recover this fatal blow. They are, however, not extirpated as a people. God has been pleased to let them subsist, that, as he foretold by his prophet * David, they might be a living example to all the nations of the earth, over which they are spread without being confounded or intermixed with any other. Notwithstanding that their temple never was rebuilt, they still retain an inviolable attachment to a religion which it is not in their power to practise; and, as † Hosea truly prophesied, the children of Israel have had for upwards of seventeen hundred years past neither king, prince, sacrifice, nor altar.

Singular fate of the Jewish nation, as foretold.

It was not long before the heads of the rebellion, John and Simon, fell into the victor's hands. Both of them had fled to subterraneous places.

John and Simon forced to surrender to the Romans.

* Thou shalt not kill them, lest the remembrance of my people should at any time be blotted out.

† For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim, Hos. iii. 4.

John, sorely pinched by hunger, ventured out first, and, yielding himself up to the Romans, found them still humane enough to spare his life. The only punishment they inflicted on him was perpetual imprisonment; too mild a chastisement for a wretch who deserved to be sacrificed to the just revenge of his country, of whose ruin he had been the cause; and to the resentment of the Romans, who were frustrated by his obstinacy, which forced them to destroy both the city and temple, of what would have been to them the most pleasing part of their conquest.

Jos. vii. 17. and 20.

Simon's still more perverse resistance drew on him the just punishment of his crimes. The moment he saw the upper city forced, he took with him some of his most determined satellites, together with some stone-cutters, and other workmen of that kind, with their tools, and laying in provisions for several days, with them got into one of the subterraneous vaults. His design was to dig through till they could make an opening somewhere in the country, at a distance from the Romans and Jerusalem, and by that means escape. Simon and his companions penetrated a great way in that dark abode; but, when they began to work, they found themselves surrounded by an impenetrable rock. Their provisions, though managed with the utmost economy, began to fail, and they could not possibly stay any longer there. Simon thereupon resolved once more to visit the light of day. The place where he arose happened to be the very spot where the temple had lately stood. He had taken care beforehand to put on a flaxen vest, and over that a purple garment, vainly hoping to terrify such as might see him rise, and frighten them away. Titus was gone from Jerusalem when this happened; but he had left the tenth legion there, with some other troops, both horse and foot, to secure his conquest. The soldiers who were upon guard

guard at the place where Simon emerged from under ground, were surprised at his first appearance, and, without leaving their post, asked him who he was. He did not think proper to satisfy them, but desired to speak to their chief officer. Some of them went directly to acquaint Terentius Rufus, who commanded the troops left in Jerusalem. He came, and Simon confessed who he was. Terentius ordered him to be put in irons, and sent to Titus, who was then at Cæsarea in Philippi, an account of what had happened. Titus very rightly judged that Simon's late and even then forced submission ought not to screen him from the punishment he deserved. He therefore ordered him to be kept close prisoner, to be reserved to grace his triumph, and after that to suffer death.

The city had been destroyed some time when Simon surrendered himself; for Titus, immediately after his victory, ordered every thing to be entirely demolished except the three towers before mentioned, and the western wall, which he reserved for the benefit of the troops that were to remain there. All else, walls, fortifications, temple, and every other building, were laid even with the ground, and so destroyed, that no mark remained of that spot having ever been inhabited. The Romans used generally on these occasions to plough up the places. The oldest Jewish writers, quoted by Scaliger, say they did * so with respect to Jerusalem.

The city and temple entirely razed. Jos. vii. 18.

Scal. Isag. t. iii. p. 304.

The victorious troops deserved to be both praised and rewarded by their general. Titus marched them back to their first camp; and there ascending a tribunal erected for him, he harangued them all, commending

Titus commends the soldiers, and rewards such as had distinguished themselves.

* M. de Tillemont thinks the Romans ploughed up only the spot where the temple stood, and not the whole extent of the city; which last event did not, in his opinion, happen till the last desolation of the Jews under Adrian. His reasons are set forth in Vol. II. of this work, note 5, on the revolt of the Jews.

commending their gallant behaviour against the enemy, and their dutiful obedience to their com-
Jos. manders. He added, that great as the glory was which they had acquired by subduing those obstinately perverse rebels the Jews, the choice they had made of an emperor, and the senate, and the whole people's approbation of that choice, did them still more honour. He concluded his speech with telling them, that such as had behaved remarkably well, and distinguished themselves by any extraordinary action, should be rewarded. An exact account had been kept of all such persons. Titus ordered it to be brought, and calling them over by their names, presented them with crowns, gorgets, pikes, colours, and promoted them to higher posts: nor did he stop there; for besides these honorary distinctions, he likewise allotted them a considerable part of the booty taken from the enemy. This pompous ceremony, so well calculated to encourage merit, was closed with a sacrifice, in which a vast number of victims was offered up, and their flesh distributed among the soldiers. Titus himself gave a grand entertainment to his principal officers.

He divides his army, and leaves part of it in Judea.

The war was at an end, and all that remained to be done was the reducing of a few mutineers, who still held out in different castles of which they had possessed themselves. Titus therefore divided his army, leaving the tenth legion, as I before said, with some other troops, to subdue what little yet remained unconquered of Judea, and keep peace there. The twelfth legion, formerly defeated under Cæstius, was not sent back to Syria, where it had been quartered till then. Titus ordered it to Melitænum, a small province between Armenia and Cappadocia, either as a punishment for the fault it had been guilty of, as Josephus seems to insinuate, or, which to me seems more probable, with

with a view to oppose those troops* against the incursions of the barbarians who infested that country. The two other legions remained with him till he set out for Italy. Things being thus settled, he went to Cæsarea, ordering the spoils and prisoners to be brought thither, till such time as the weather should permit him to embark.

He spent the winter in visiting the several towns and cities of Judea and Syria, making feastings and rejoicings wherever he went at the expense of the unhappy Jews, who were exposed to wild beasts, or forced to fight one another. His aversion to that people was not, however, such as admitted of no distinction; the Jews of Antioch found a protector in him against the Syrians, who jointly with them inhabited that great city, where they enjoyed the rights of citizens, in virtue of the privileges granted them by the ancient kings of Syria. But the other inhabitants of the place envied their condition, and had long been at enmity with them on that account. The Syrians thought the rebellion of the Jews against the Romans, and the disasters of that unhappy nation, a favourable opportunity for them to be revenged; and accordingly, on Titus's arrival at Antioch, they petitioned that all the Jews might be expelled, or at least deprived of the prerogatives of citizens. Titus refused their request, and confirmed the Jews in the possession of all the privileges they enjoyed. It was not the name of Jew that he disliked, nor did he think that any of them deserved to be treated with severity, any further than they had merited it by their crimes.

He spends the winter in visiting Judea and Syria. His compassion for Jerusalem. Jos. vii. 19, 20, 24.

In his tour of Syria he went as far as Zeugma on the Euphrates, where he received ambassadors from Vologeses king of Parthia, who presented him, in their master's name, a crown of gold, as a compliment

* See the principal events of Vespasian's reign, A. R. 814.

compliment of congratulation for his victory over the Jews. Taking Antioch in his way back, he returned to Judea, and visited the spot where Jerusalem had stood. The sight of that place, then so naked and forlorn, compared with the magnificence of the city he had once seen there in a most flourishing condition, touched him with real pity and compassion. Instead of being pleased at having signalized his power in destroying so fine and strong a place, he expressed the utmost indignation against the wicked wretches whose perverse obstinacy had forced him to be their ruin. Far different cares busied those that were with him. They fell to digging for the treasures which the Jews had hidden during the siege; and some by chance, others probably in consequence of the intelligence they received, found quantities of gold, silver, and other valuable effects, of which they possessed themselves.

He leaves Alexandria, and arrives at Rome, where he triumphs with his father.

Titus continued his journey by land to Alexandria, where he was to embark. From thence he sent back the two legions he had kept with him to the provinces from whence they had been taken, viz. the fifth to Mœsia, and the fifteenth to Pannonia. He chose out seven hundred of the handsomest and best made men amongst the Jewish prisoners, and shipped them off for Italy, to be ready there to grace his triumph, with their chiefs John and Simon. All things being settled and in readiness, he set sail towards the beginning of spring, A. R. 822. in the year of Christ 71; and arriving safe at Rome, triumphed for his victory over the Jews, jointly with his father, though the senate had decreed a separate triumph for each of them. Titus's car followed Vespasian's, and Domitian accompanied them on horseback.

Josephus gives a long and pompous account of this superb ceremony in his high-flown Asiatic style. The most interesting circumstances with regard

regard to us are, that it was graced with the spoils of the temple, the golden table on which the shew-bread was offered up, the golden candlestick with seven branches, and the book of the law. Plants of balm, then thought to grow no where but in Judea, but which, our moderns* have found, belongs more properly to Arabia Felix, were likewise carried in procession. This valuable plant was cultivated with extraordinary care in the plains of Jericho, where the Romans were forced to defend it against the rage of the Jews, whose fury and despair were such that they wanted to destroy it. Of all the prisoners, none were put to death except Simon son of Gioras, who was strangled in prison, before the triumphers ascended the capitol, according to custom. Josephus speaks of troops that followed and adorned the triumph, but does not mention their number or quality. It was customary in the times of the old republic for the victorious legions to triumph with their general; nor is it improbable that the fifth and fifteenth legions may have been sent by the way of Rome to their quarters, and consequently have been present at Titus's triumph.

Plin. xii. 25. Godfrey. Mat. Med. T. ii. p. 475.

Jos. et Dio.

Dio.

I before observed that some small parties of obstinate Jews still refused to submit. They had shut themselves up in three castles, Herodium, Macherontum, and Masada. Lucilius Bassus was ordered to reduce them with the troops which Titus left in Judea. Herodium took up but little of his time, the garrison in it surrendering at discretion the moment he appeared before the place.

The three castles, Herodium, Macherontum, and Masada, still held by the rebellious Jews, reduced. Jos. de B. Jud. vii. 25, 26, 28.

Macherontum gave him more trouble. That fortress was built on a very high rock, and surrounded on all sides with deep precipices. Alexander Jannæus,

* This agrees with a tradition attested by Josephus, Ant. lib. viii. c. 6. that the balm here spoken of was brought to Solomon by the queen of Sheba.

Jannæus, king of the Jews, had formerly erected a fort there, which was destroyed in the war between Gabinius and Aristobulus; but when Herod became master of Judea, his great and extensive views soon made him sensible of the importance of this spot, which, by its situation, was an excellent barrier against the incursions of the Arabians. Accordingly, he built a town there on the declivity of the rock, and on the summit a citadel, the walls of which were flanked with towers an hundred and sixty cubits high. In this citadel, he contrived several cisterns for water, and laid in such stores of provisions as might enable it at all events to stand a long siege. He likewise built a magnificent palace there, making the whole a place of war, and at the same time a royal residence.

Macherontum, at the time that Bassus appeared before it, was held by one of those troops of banditti whom Vespasian's arms had driven from the flat country, and who, unable any longer to keep the field, had shut themselves up in that fortress, which they thought impregnable. Bassus resolved to convince them of their error. Reconnoitring the place, and finding the rock less difficult of access on the west side, and the valley not so deep there as in other places, he set about filling it up, and carried on his works with great despatch, notwithstanding the frequent and vigorous sallies of the besieged. It might, however, have been a long time before he succeeded, had it not been for a particular incident by which the Jews were disheartened.

They had among them a young officer, undauntedly brave, called Eleazar, who was the soul of all their actions, always at their head when they sallied out to attack, and ever last when they retreated, covering the rest by his intrepid boldness. One day that they were all got safe back from a skirmish, Eleazar, fearing no danger, staid some time without

without the castle gate, talking from below with those that were upon the wall, and so intent on what he was saying that he thought of nothing else; a Roman soldier watched his opportunity, and stealing up to him without the least noise, on a sudden caught him round the middle, and carried him off, armed as he was, to the Roman camp. Bassus immediately ordered him to be stripped and severely beaten with rods, in sight of the castle. The besieged were greatly moved at this, Eleazar being esteemed and beloved by all, as well as related to many of the most considerable among them. Bassus, taking advantage of their alarms, ordered a cross to be erected, as if he had intended instantly to crucify his prisoner. The Jews could not bear the thought of seeing Eleazar suffer that cruel death. Sensibly feeling his affliction, and moved still more by his piteous cries and entreaties that any other kind of death might be inflicted on him rather than one so painful and ignominious, they sent to Bassus, offering to surrender the place, if he would release Eleazar, and allow them to retreat. The Roman general accepted their offer, and the capitulation was faithfully executed on both sides. The troops which held the castle not only delivered it up to the Romans, but likewise informed them that the people were running away from the town below. The Romans thereupon entered it sword in hand, and though they could not prevent the escape of some of the most nimble and vigorous, they stopped and killed the stragglers and those that lagged behind, to the amount of seventeen hundred, making the women and children prisoners. As to the garrison, with which only they had treated, they were suffered to go, and Eleazar with them, according to agreement.

The fugitives from Macherontum retreated to a thick wood, where they found several companions in misfortune, who had fled from Jerusalem during the

the siege, and, like them, had repaired thither for safety. Bassus followed them, and encompassing the wood with a line of horse, ordered his foot to enter it and cut down the trees. The wretched Jews were forced to fight in defence of their asylum. The bravest of them resisted till they were overpowered and killed; the rest, who attempted to fly, were cut off by the Roman horse; so that out of three thousand, to which their number amounted, not one escaped.

Castle Masada, held by the most obstinate of all the Jews, still resisted. These were followers of Judas of Galilee, downright fanatics for liberty, one of whose maxims was, that they could not acknowledge any earthly lord without violating the respect due to God, the sole sovereign Lord of man. They were the very first that sowed the seeds of rebellion, so far back as the time when Quirinius numbered the people under Augustus's reign, after the death of Archelaus; and the last that persisted in it, headed by Eleazar, grandson of the author of their sect. They possessed themselves of Masada at the first breaking out of the war, when Florus was yet in Judea. From thence, as from a centre, they spread round about, robbing and plundering every thing within their reach. Of their tribe were the assassins who committed so many horrid murders, and who would have been deservedly looked upon as the most wicked of men, if the zealots had not still surpassed them in guilt. We have already seen how strongly they were attached to their fortress, from which Simon son of Gioras strove in vain to draw them, in order to lead them on to Jerusalem. They kept possession of it till the
A. 823. year of Christ 72, when Flavius Silva, who succeeded Bassus, (this last dying soon after the taking of Macherontum,) marched against Masada with all the forces the Romans had left in Judea.

The

The situation of this fortress was much like that of Macherontum. It was built on a high rock, and surrounded on all sides with deep vallies. The summit was accessible only by two ways, one of which, on the east side, was called the *serpent*, on account of its frequent turnings and windings. That path was extremely narrow, and so rugged that none could ascend it without the utmost care and precaution, for the least slip of the foot must have been attended with certain death, by falling down the precipices on either side. The other way, on the west side, was smoother and easier, but the narrowest part of it was defended by a tower, which occupied the whole breadth from side to side; so that there was no possibility of getting up to the top without the consent of the guards in that tower, or forcing it. On the summit of the rock, which was flat, and about seven stadia in circumference, was the fortress, built by the high-priest Jonathas, but greatly enlarged and perfected by Herod. The wall, built of the finest stone, was twelve cubits high, and eight thick, flanked with thirty-seven towers fifty cubits high. All the houses were built round the inside of the wall, and the space in the middle, where the soil was excellent, and even more fertile than any plain, was reserved for culture; a great resource in case of a siege. Herod had likewise taken care to stock the place abundantly with corn, wine, oil, and all sorts of pulse; and, which is most extraordinary, these provisions had been kept nearly an hundred years. Eleazar and his people made use of them, and what the Romans found when they took the place was still fresh and good. Josephus imputes this to the pureness of the air, which at that great height was not mixed with any moist and earthy vapours; but I am apt to think nature must have been assisted by art. Besides plenty of provisions, Herod furnished this place abundantly with ammunitions of war. Masada

contained arms for ten thousand men, and vast quantities of iron, brass, and lead, to make more if wanted. Only one essential thing was wanting, which was water. To remedy this inconvenience, Herod caused numbers of reservoirs to be dug, in which the rain that fell was carefully preserved. In this citadel, thus prepared and fortifi d, he built himself a large and magnificent palace, likewise fortified like a place of war; looking on that as a safe retreat in case of accidents, whether they should arise from any revolt of the Jews in favour of the Asmonæan family which he had dethroned, or whether Cleopatra, who hated him, should at any time arm Antony and the Romans against him.

Flavius Sylva, resolving to force this place, first surrounded the whole rock with a wall and a strong guard, that none of the besieged might escape; after which he formed his camp as near as he could to the rock, and employed the Jewish prisoners to bring him what water and provisions he wanted, being obliged to send a great distance for them. The next thing to be done was to find a proper place to batter the castle walls. After taking, without much difficulty, the tower which barred the road up to the castle on the west side, Flavius came to a flat eminence, which projected out pretty considerably, but still was not so high as the wall of Masada by three hundred cubits. The immense labour of raising it to a level did not at all discourage him. On that flat part of the rock he erected a platform two hundred cubits high, and upon that a covering of solid stone, fifty cubits broad and as many deep. On that firm basis he built a tower of wood, which he covered all over with plates of iron. This tower was sixty cubits high, and consequently ten higher than the wall, which by that means it overlooked. The Romans having completed their work, lanced from thence, with the help of their engines, such showers of darts and stones

stones as soon cleared the wall, so that none of the besieged dared to appear upon it. At the same time the ram was applied to the wall, and battered it with such violence, that, strong as it was, a breach was at last made in it. Eleazar had, however, taken care to build up another wall within, by which the besiegers were again stopped.

This wall was built with great art and judgment; not of stone, for that, by resisting, would have been most liable to be shaken by the violent efforts of the rams, but of wood and earth, which giving way when battered, the earth sunk down into the empty spaces, and made the wall more solid, at the same time that it blunted the force of the blows. Flavius, finding that the ram made no impression, had recourse to fire, ordering his soldiers to throw quantities of lighted torches against that wall. The wood-work soon took fire; but the wind, blowing towards the Romans, drove the flames upon their engines, which were in great danger of being burned. Luckily for the besiegers, the wind changed at once to the south, and the wall was consumed. The Romans returned joyous to their camp, and resolved to give an assault the next day. A strict guard was kept all night, that none of the Jews might escape.

Eleazar was far from thinking either of running away himself, or of suffering any of his people to go. He had long desperately resolved to prefer an expedient, in his opinion more becoming his high courage, to kill himself, and make all that were shut up with him in Masada do the same. Determined as he was to put this horrid design in execution, he assembled the most resolute of his men, and represented to them, that as they had all firmly resolved rather to perish than acknowledge any master but God, the time was at last come when it was incumbent on them to prove that noble way of thinking by their deeds. 'Hitherto,' added

he, 'we have rejected with scorn and indignation 'the very thought of servitude, though exempt 'from danger. Now, to submit to slavery, and 'all the cruel punishments the Romans will not 'fail to inflict on us, if we fall alive into their 'hands, would be an eternal shame and reproach 'to us. No! let us rather take advantage of the 'favour God is pleased to grant us, in leaving us 'yet masters of our own fate. By his will it is 'that we are deprived of all possible means of pre-'serving both life and liberty; the cruel misfor-'tunes we have so long endured are a plain proof 'of his wrath against our nation; nor ought we 'to murmur at it, not only because our sins have 'deserved his chastisement, but because he is still 'graciously pleased to leave it in our own power 'to avoid captivity. Let us then thankfully em-'brace the means still left us by the Almighty's 'goodness. Let an honourable death, obtained 'from friendly hands, preserve our wives from the 'outrageous insults which our insolent conquerors 'are preparing to offer them, and our children 'from vile and abject slavery. Let us, after that, 'render to each other the same noble service, and 'die, convinced that the most glorious end a 'brave man can wish for is to fall for liberty. 'But first let us disappoint our greedy enemies, 'by burning every thing that they can wish to 'plunder. Let us leave behind us nothing but 'our provisions, that they may witness our days 'were not ended by want or famine, but purely 'by our own generous resolution.'

Eleazar expected that this speech would make a deeper impression than it did at first. Many of those to whom it was addressed were more nearly touched with the terror of approaching death, and a sense of compassion for their tender infants and dear unhappy wives. Eleazar was forced to ha-rangue them again, and to use the strongest argu-ments

ments and keenest reproaches he could devise, to shame them out of their effeminate faint-heartedness. At length he succeeded, and communicated to them the furious resolution with which he himself was inspired. All approved of his advice, and prepared to follow it. Accordingly they murdered their wives and children, thinking, so much were they blinded by their rage, that in giving them death they gave them the highest proof of tenderness and affection. The dead bodies were piled up in Herod's palace, together with all their valuable effects; after which ten were chosen by lot to kill all their companions. The voluntary victims ranged themselves in order near the dead bodies of their relations and friends, longing to join their flight to eternity, and thankfully received the mortal blow. The last survivor of the ten set fire to the palace, and then stabbing himself, closed the horrid scene. Nine hundred and sixty, including women and children, perished in this bloody execution. None escaped the general massacre except two old women and five children, who found means to hide themselves during the dreadful deed.

As soon as it was light the next day, the Romans prepared to assault the place, in consequence of the resolution they had taken the evening before. They were greatly surprised to find the enemy did not appear. The silence and solitude that reigned in every part, and the flames which by that time began to break out, perplexed them exceedingly. Thinking to alarm the Jews, and force them to appear, they shouted with all their might, as if they had been going to make a general discharge of their engines. Still none appeared but the two old women before mentioned, who, hearing the noise, left their place of concealment, and came out to the Romans, to whom they related the tragical scene that had passed. The latter entered immediately, put out the fire, and when they came to the palace,

saw with horror the heap of dead bodies half burnt, though at the same time they could not help admiring the noble fortitude of such a number of persons of every age and sex, who had so magnanimously preferred death to captivity. Flavius left a garrison in the castle, and retired to Cæsarea.

End of the war. Jos. vii. 29.

The taking of Masada, which was the last exploit of the Romans against the Jews, happened on the sixteenth of the month Zanthicus, in the year of Christ 72. Consequently the war, which began the sixteenth of the month Artemisius, in the year 66, lasted in all six years. By it a great part of the Jewish nation was entirely destroyed, as we have seen, and their country, in consequence thereof, forfeited to the Romans. In the year 71 Vespasian ordered all their lands, cities, and towns, to be sold, and the produce to be paid into the imperial treasury. The only part excepted from this general order was the town and territory of Emmaus, where he settled a colony of eight hundred veterans, who called it Nicopolis, or *the City of Victory*. The kingdom belonging to Agrippa, who had always been a faithful ally to the Romans, deserved to be exempted from the general punishment inflicted on the rebels, and accordingly it was so, and subsisted till the death of that prince. The Jews who resided in different parts of the empire over which they were dispersed were continued in the full enjoyment of all their privileges, provided they behaved well, and remained peaceable. They were not punished for the crimes of their countrymen, any further than that Vespasian subjected them to the payment of a tribute of two drachmas for the use of the capitol, which they before paid for the temple of Jerusalem.

Jos. vii. 26.

Disturbances at Alexandria. Several of the assassins seized

Some, however, still incurred further penalties by their insuperable obstinacy. Of the assassins, followers of Judas of Galilee, some had been fortunate enough to make their escape to Alexandria. Their turbulent

turbulent spirit still accompanied them thither; and instead of thinking themselves happy that they had been able to avoid the death they so richly deserved, they set about sowing the seeds of discord and rebellion among the Alexandrians, exhorting them to assert their liberty, and not to look upon the Romans as sovereigns to whom they owed obedience and respect; for that God was the only master they ought to acknowledge. Their insolence grew to such a height, that they made no scruple of killing whoever opposed their seditious doctrine; nor of openly spiriting up and urging to rebel all that seemed the least disposed to listen to their discourses. The chiefs of the council of the Jews at Alexandria were greatly alarmed; justly foreseeing that the outrages of these fanatics could not fail to be imputed to all that were connected with them by the bonds of society, and of the same religion. They assembled the people, and after strongly representing to them the heinousness of the offence committed by these infamous wretches, who were endeavouring to involve others, innocent of their crimes, in the punishments they alone deserved, concluded that their common safety required the assassins should be secured and delivered up to the Roman magistrate. The people approved of what their chiefs proposed; and accordingly six hundred of those wretches were immediately arrested, and such as escaped were pursued as far as Thebes in Upper Egypt, where they were seized and brought back to Alexandria. A very singular circumstance is, that it was not possible, by any means whatever, to make any one of these furious madmen listen to reason. Their fanaticism was such, that the greatest tortures could not force one of them to acknowledge Cæsar for their master. The very children persisted in their obstinacy, and chose rather to die under the most cruel punishments that could be thought of, than even seem to deviate from the maxims they had once professed.

there, and put to death. Their obstinacy. Jos. vii. 29.

The temple of Onias shut up by Vespasian's order.

Though an immediate stop was put to this disturbance, it made Vespasian attend, more perhaps than he would otherwise have done, to the schismatic temple which Onias* had built in Egypt, in imitation of that of Jerusalem. The Roman emperor, finding how difficult it was to surmount the rebellious spirit of the Jews, justly apprehended that the temple of Onias, now become much dearer to them, since they had no other left, might be a means of drawing them together, and consequently occasion fresh disturbances. He therefore ordered Lupus, prefect of Egypt, to demolish it. Lupus, however, only shut it up. His successor Paulinus stripped it of its ornaments and riches, and forbade the Jews coming near it. Thus was the Jewish worship entirely abolished, not even that illegal shadow of it remaining by which it might have seemed to some still to exist. The temple of Onias subsisted in all two hundred and twenty-three years.

Disturbances at Cyræne.

The contagious spirit of rebellion reached also to the Jews of Cyræne. One Jonathas, by trade a weaver, already engaged in the faction of the assassins, going to that city, took upon him to act the prophet; and by pretending that he would work miracles, prevailed on some of the lower class of the people to follow him to the desert. The chief of the Jews hearing this, and dreading the consequences, gave intelligence thereof to Catullus, governor of Pentapolis† in Lybia, who, sending a body of troops, soon dispersed the rioters, and took their ringleader prisoner. That wretch, to obtain pardon, promised to reveal all he knew, and accordingly impeached the richest of his countrymen, whom he accused of being the secret promoters and instigators of all he had done. Catullus listened greedily

* Concerning the building of this temple, see Vol. IX. of M. Rollin's Ancient History, § iv.

† A small country, of which Cyræne was the capital.

greedily to his vile calumnies; and, in order to have some share in the honour of putting an end to the Jewish war, he made a great noise about what in reality was a mere trifle, and magnified things to make people believe that a most dangerous conspiracy was carrying on. Not satisfied with receiving such weighty accusations, without the least proof to support them, he took upon him to dictate to the informers what they were to depose. By this means he soon got rid of a Jew whom he hated, and of his wife. His next step was to attack all the rich men of that nation, upwards of three thousand of whom were involved in this odious transaction, and condemned and executed by his order; he imagining that the gain which would accrue to the emperor by so many confiscations would palliate his injustice. The thing was carried yet further. Jonathas and his companions, still encouraged and set on by Catullus, did not scruple to accuse the most distinguished of the Jews that were settled both in Alexandria and Rome; and in particular he charged Josephus with having sent them arms and money. This gave Vespasian an opportunity to take cognizance of the affair himself. He was not one of those princes with whom to be accused of crimes against the state is sufficient to make a man be deemed guilty. On the contrary, he took time to examine matters, and always weighed the proofs and circumstances on either side equally and impartially. Catullus's false informations could not stand the test of such an examination. The fraud was discovered, and Jonathas, who had been sent to Rome, suffered at last the punishment he had long before deserved, being first whipped and afterwards burnt alive. The extreme lenity of the Roman laws, and the emperor's merciful disposition, screened Catullus from the penalties he justly merited; but the vengeance of Heaven soon overtook him, for he was seized with

Josephus involved in this affair.

His accuser punished.

with a disorder attended with the most shocking symptoms, which carried him to his grave.

Authority of Josephus's history. Jos. vit. 65. and in Ap. l. 9.

Here Josephus ends his history of the Jewish war; a monument, as I before observed, of infinite value to religion, as well as of indisputable authority. We are to consider him not only as an eye-witness who relates facts in which he himself was deeply concerned, but likewise as one who published his work under the very eyes of those who were also witnesses of what he says, and even principal actors therein; and consequently might have refuted him, had he deviated from truth. Amongst those witnesses we may reckon Vespasian and Titus, to whom he presented his history; king Agrippa, who read it over; and his own fidelity, which, backed with the sanction of such great names, carries with it a stronger degree of credit and authenticity than can be required, or even expected, from the generality of writers.

Not that I would be understood to extend what I say in favour of Josephus's sincerity and fidelity to every minute detail, which I do not take upon me to warrant; but to the principal events only, and their most remarkable circumstances, which he relates. One cannot but observe, on reading him, a strong tincture of vanity and self-conceit, and oftentimes too great a credulity, and a readiness to flatter whoever was in power. No absolute dependence can be made on what is said by a writer of that turn. Add to this his manner of writing, in which he studiously affects every flower of rhetoric and ornament of speech, instead of courting the more lovely graces of nature and simplicity; a style in which he often loses himself in long and tedious digressions, and wherein he idly affects an ill-timed show of a philosophy and erudition quite out of season. But these defects are personal, and ought to take but little from the merit of his writings.

Besides

Besides the history of the Jewish war, which is undoubtedly his greatest performance, and which he published both in his mother tongue, and at the same time in Greek, whilst the facts therein related were still recent, Josephus wrote the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, which we have; his own life, two books against Apion, and a small tract on the martyrdom of the seven Maccabees. Some account of his writings and person. Jos. de B. Jud. i. 1.

He wrote his Antiquities with a view to inculcate in those of his countrymen, who spoke and understood Greek, a knowledge of the history of their own nation; beginning, as Moses did, at the creation of the world. It is an useful work, and would be still more valuable if the author had not attempted in many places to give a gloss to the majestic simplicity of the scriptures, and in others to lessen and depreciate the wonders which the Almighty was pleased, out of his great goodness, to work in favour of the Jews, in order to make them seem more credible to his readers. Jos. Ant. i. 1.

He concludes his Antiquities with an account of his own life, in which he does not fail to praise himself, and extol his own merit. Had he said less on that subject, one would be inclined to think better of him.

His Antiquities are dedicated to one Epaphroditus, perhaps that famous freedman of Nero's whom Domitian put to death. He tells us himself, that he finished this great work in the thirteenth year of that emperor's reign, he being then in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Jos. Ant. xx. 9.

His books against Apion, likewise dedicated to Epaphroditus, are a continuation of his Antiquities, and an apology for his nation, against the calumnies of some Greek writers, the chief of whom was Apion the grammarian.

The story of the courageous death of the Maccabees and their mother has greatly the air of declamation, and seems intended chiefly to establish a maxim

maxim more becoming the pride of a Stoic than one who professed the true religion, which directs us to ascribe all to God. Josephus endeavours to show in his work *, that reason can and ought to get the better of our passions; and to prove what he advances, he cites instances of virtue, in which he ought to have acknowledged the superior power of God aiding and assisting the weakness and infirmities of man.

Jos. vit. I have little to add concerning Josephus's person to what I have already said in the course of this history. He was of sacerdotal extraction, of the first of the twenty-four classes into which David distributed the posterity of Aaron. By his mother's side he was related to the royal line of the Asmonæans. After the desolation and ruin of his country, he lived at Rome under the protection of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, from whom he received many favours. We have no proof of his having survived the last of these emperors.

* Αὐτυδέσποτός ἐστι τῶν παθῶν ὁ ἐυσεβὴς λόγισμος.

BOOK XVII.

SECT. I.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE REIGN OF TITUS.

VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS IX. A. R. 830.
TITUS CÆSAR VIII. A. C. 79.

Titus confirms in one ordinance all the donations made by his predecessors.

His mildness and moderation towards Domitian. He banishes informers. Berenice dismissed.

Violent burning of mount Vesuvius. Death of the elder Pliny.

TITUS AUGUSTUS VIII. A. R. 831.
DOMITIANUS CÆSAR VII. A. C. 80.

Dreadful pestilence.

Terrible fire at Rome.

Dedication of the amphitheatre begun by Vespasian, and finished by Titus, who entertains the people magnificently on that occasion with shows, games, and other diversions.

SEX. * FLAVIUS SILVANUS. A. R. 832.
T. ANNIUS VERUS POLLIO. A. C. 81.

Titus dies on the thirteenth of September.

THE

* I follow Dion Cassius, who calls this consul Flavius. He is called Annius in an inscription in Gruterus.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

TITUS.

Titus acknowledged emperor, notwithstanding the intrigues of his brother Domitian. He deserves to be called The Delight of Mankind. *Instances of his goodness. The sovereign power improves and reforms him. Berenice dismissed. Violent burning of mount Vesuvius. The city of Herculaneum discovered under ground in our days. Death of the elder Pliny Dangers to which the younger Pliny is exposed. Some account of the elder Pliny. His works. His love of study. Dreadful pestilence. Titus's fatherly care of his distressed subjects. Great part of Rome burnt. Titus's magnificence in the public shows and games. Death of Titus. Pretended Nero. Agricola's exploits in Britain.*

Titus acknowledged emperor, notwithstanding the intrigues of his brother Domitian. Suet. Domit. 2.

AFTER the death of Vespasian, his eldest son Titus was unanimously acknowledged emperor by the senate and army; not but that Domitian, whose ambition knew no bounds, was sufficiently disposed to dispute, or at least to share the empire with his brother. He thought of offering the troops double the gratification that Titus gave them. He likewise pretended that his father's will had been altered, and that Vespasian's intention was that his two sons should inherit the empire jointly. These suggestions were quite inconsistent with the whole of Vespasian's conduct, who always made a great difference between his two sons; sharing his

power

power and the authority of government with the eldest, whilst he treated the youngest with a severity which Titus was more than once obliged to soften by his remonstrances and entreaties. Domitian's complaints served only to show more and more the badness of his heart, and to give Titus such umbrage as he ought to have attended to more than he did, both for his own safety and for the happiness of the empire.

He deserves to be called *The Delight of Mankind.* Suet. Tit. 1.

Titus is known to every one by the glorious title of *The Delight of Mankind.* He justly acquired it by his constant and universal goodness; and all that we have to relate concerning his reign consists almost entirely of the repeated proofs he gave of that amiable character.

Instances of his goodness.

An ordinance, dictated by his natural disposition to do good, showed at once his happy turn of mind in the very beginning of his reign. His predecessors ever since Tiberius had made it a rule to look upon all donations * of demesnes of the republic, made by those to whom they succeeded, as void on the death of the donors. It was absolutely necessary to have all such grants confirmed by the new prince. Titus exempted his subjects from that troublesome ceremony; and by one general decree ratified all the gifts of his predecessors. His example became a law, and was followed by the princes who succeeded him.

Suet. Tit. 8. 9. Dio.

When he took possession of the office of high-priest, he declared that he looked upon that sacred dignity as a tie which bound him to keep his hands pure and unstained with the blood of any citizen. Accordingly, during his whole reign, which unfortunately

* Suetonius makes use of the word *beneficia*, which on this occasion does not mean *benefactions* in general, but should rather be understood in a more limited sense, and applied particularly to the settlements granted by the emperors to the troops out of the lands they had conquered, and to the pensions which the prince was pleased to grant out of the public treasure.

tunately was too short, he never ordered any one to be put to death, though he might frequently have taken a just and lawful revenge.

Two patricians were convicted of having conspired against him. Titus, adhering stedfastly to his maxims of clemency, vowed * that he had rather perish himself than be the cause of another's death; and thereupon, ordering the criminals to be sent for, he exhorted them to desist from their rash project of raising themselves to the empire, the disposal of which depended solely on the decrees of fate; at the same time promising to grant them any thing else that they could wish for; and as the mother of one of them was at that time at some distance from Rome, he sent an express to her, to quiet her uneasiness, and assure her that her son's life was not in danger. He then invited the conspirators to sup with him; and the next day, being at a combat of gladiators, he made them sit down, one on each side of him, and when the arms of the combatants were brought to him, according to custom, to see if they were in good order, he immediately put them, without the least apprehension of danger, into the hands of those who had so lately formed a design against his life, that they too might examine them.

His brother never ceased to lay snares for him: he almost openly solicited the armies to revolt, and studied to find pretences for not attending the court. Notwithstanding all this, Titus could not prevail on himself either to put his rebellious brother to death, or to secure his person, or even to treat him with less civility than before. He made him his colleague in the consulship; and, from the very first day of his being made emperor, always declared to him, that as he had no male issue, he looked upon him as his successor to the empire. When they

* Periturum se potiùs quàm perditurum adjurans. *Suet.*

they were alone, he would frequently conjure him with tears to second his endeavours, and return him affection for affection.

So good and mild a prince was by no means capable of giving ear to those odious informers who had so long been used to construe even the most innocent expressions into treason, and crimes against the state, and had thereby reigned a terror to all good men. He abolished that custom entirely, saying, 'These pretended crimes concern either me or my predecessors. As to me, I cannot 'be offended, because I do nothing that deserves 'blame. I therefore look with contempt on such 'discourses as are founded only on lies. Let the 'emperors that reigned before me, if they are 'hurt, revenge their own quarrel, as they easily 'may, if they now are in fact partakers of divinity.' So that, far from encouraging informers, such of them as had flourished during the licentiousness of former reigns were now treated with rigour. Some were only banished from Rome; others more guilty, after being publicly whipt in the forum, and shown with ignominy in the amphitheatre, were either sold for slaves, or confined in desert islands. He even took measures for the time to come, and by his wise regulations endeavoured to put a stop to the vile practices of those who made the very laws subservient to their wicked machinations against the innocent, purely to enrich themselves.

So strongly was he disposed to do good, that if he thought it sometimes not proper to grant what was asked, he would still leave room for hope. On which occasion, some of his officers taking the liberty to tell him that he promised more perhaps than he could perform, he answered, 'That no* one ought to depart from an audience of his

* Non oportere quemquam à sermone principis tristem discedere. *Suet.*

'prince with a dejected countenance.' Every one knows in what manner he expressed his regret at having let a day pass without doing some good office. 'My * friends,' said he to those who supped with him, 'I have lost a day;'—an expression worthy to be transmitted to the latest posterity, and infinitely more glorious than all the victories of Alexander and Cæsar.

Suet. Tit. 7. It is needless after this to say that Titus never did an injustice to any man, nor ever deprived the lawful possessor of his right. He did not receive even the contributions established by custom, which had always been considered as voluntary marks of the people's affection for their prince.

Suet. Tit. 8. Being as popular by choice as the first citizens of Rome had formerly been through necessity, when he gave combats of gladiators, he left it to the spectators to determine the number and choice of the combatants. When he bathed in the hot-baths which he built, the common people were admitted at the same time with him. Suetonius observes, however, that even when he was most familiar he always maintained the dignity of his station, and never debased the majesty of supreme command. Tacitus too says the same, as we have already seen.

His sweet and engaging behaviour in private life won the hearts of all that were about him. He de-

Suet. Tit. 7. served to have friends; an advantage very rare in so high a station; and he chose them so well, that those in whom he put confidence still preserved the same distinction under those of his successors who knew how to distinguish and reward virtue.

Suet. Tit. 20. He knew the value of friendship, and discharged the duties of it. Being nearly of the same age as Britannicus, he and that young prince were educated under the same masters, and received the same

* Amici, diem perdidi. *Suet.*

same instructions. So closely were they united, that, at the fatal entertainment which ended the days of the son of Claudius, Titus, who was seated next to him, drank, we are told, part of the poisonous draught, and was a long time dangerously ill. When emperor, he still remembered him whose company had been an honour to his infancy. He ordered two statues of Britannicus to be made, the one of gold, which he placed in the palace, the other equestrian of ivory, to be carried among the images of the gods and great men in the solemn procession of the games of the circus.

The sovereign power improves and reforms him. Berenice dismissed. Suet. Tit 6, 7 and Dio.

It is very remarkable that the sovereign power, the seducing charms of which have often proved fatal to men who have seemed thoroughly virtuous in private life, improved Titus's good qualities, and corrected his failings; for, during his father's reign, his conduct was not absolutely irreproachable. He was charged with having done several harsh things in the discharge of his office of pretorian prefect, and with leading a loose disorderly life; insomuch that, according to Suetonius, people were greatly apprehensive lest Titus, when emperor, should turn out a second Nero.

I make no doubt but that this expression is greatly exaggerated, and that his youthful conduct has been represented much worse than it really was, in order to form a more striking contrast between Titus when Cæsar, and the same Titus when afterwards emperor. We have seen that the pretended severities laid to his charge, and said to be done in his father's time, were, in fact, no more than acts of justice inflicted on criminals, and necessary to secure the life of the prince, and the tranquillity of the public; goodness and equity had long taken deep root in him, and were virtues which he constantly practised, before he took the reins of government in hand. Of this the Jewish war affords many instances.

It is not so easy to justify Titus against what is laid to the charge of his morals. His retinue, while Vespasian lived, was chiefly composed of pantomimes, eunuchs, and a number of young slaves, whose functions modesty would willingly veil over. None are ignorant of his amours with Berenice, so celebrated both by ancient and modern poets. In this great point it was that the unbounded liberty of supreme power worked the most surprising reformation in him.

Jos. Ant. xviii. 7. and xx. 5. One of the first uses he made of his authority was to dismiss Berenice, whom he loved tenderly, and who was not less fond of him. That princess, daughter of Agrippa the first, and sister to Agrippa the second, was married first to Herod king of Chalcis, her uncle, and after his death to Polemon king of Cilicia, from whom she parted. Her conduct was by no means irreproachable; nor did she escape suspicion of incest with her brother. But she had beauty, wit, address, high sentiments, and great magnificence in her behaviour. These were the charms by which she pleased Titus, whose acquaintance with her commenced during the war in Judea. She followed him to Rome after the taking of Jerusalem; and as she lived with him in the palace, she was looked upon as one whom he intended to make his wife, and she accordingly assumed beforehand the honours and privileges she would have been entitled to when such. It appears, however, that Titus broke off his connexion with her whilst his father was yet alive, and even sent her away, but probably with a promise to recal her. As soon as she learned that the prince was his own master, she returned to Rome, where she found that what she had built her greatest hopes on proved their ruin. Titus, when emperor, thought as became one in that high post. Judging himself more severely, since his actions depended only on his own will, than he had ever done before, he

Dio. et Suet.

Suet. et Dio. in Tito.

he was immediately sensible of the impropriety of a marriage which could not but be highly displeasing to the Romans, who, as is well known, acknowledged no other nobility but that of their own blood, and looked upon kings and queens as no more than crowned slaves. Antony's marriage with Cleopatra had been blamed by all; and what comparison was there between Cleopatra, a powerful queen, descended from an ancient race of kings, and Berenice, who had only the empty title of queen, and whose* sister Drusilla had married Claudius's freedman Felix? Titus, convinced how much it was his duty not to give his subjects any just cause for censure or complaint, conquered himself, and sacrificing his passion to the good of the state, dismissed Berenice, never to return again.

Suetonius does not absolutely say that Titus removed from court all that abandoned troop which had long sullied his reputation. But he so far ceased to countenance them, that when his pantomimes had vast success on the stage, and were applauded in proportion to the passion of the audience for their performance, he did not any ways concern himself with it, and even refrained from seeing them act.

He was likewise censured for the profusion of his entertainments, in which he would often sit at table till midnight regaling with his friends. That, too, he reformed, as well as the other parts of his conduct which were any way reprehensible. He always desired that gaiety and freedom might reign at his repasts, but with moderation. Virtue alone was entitled to his regard.

Some have accused him of being covetous of money; nor does Suetonius scruple to assert that he

* M. Racine, in his tragedy of Berenice, makes Felix husband to two succeeding queens. I know of no other than Drusilla, married to that freedman.

carried on the same sordid traffic which his father had done. Yet we have seen that even then he disapproved of that indecency; and, when master of his actions, he entirely wiped off that stain, by a conduct not only void of all shadow of extortion, but even generous and magnificent.

Such was the change which sovereign power wrought in Titus. He thought his high station a curb to his liberty; and that the more he had it in his power to do what he pleased, the less he ought to do it. This it was that made him say to a man who was greatly surprised at his refusing him a favour which he himself had requested for him from Vespasian, 'There is a wide difference be-'tween soliciting another and judging for one's 'self, between backing a petition and granting it.'

Violent burning of mount Vesuvius. Suet. Tit. 8. and Dio.

The felicity which the Romans enjoyed under a prince whose constant endeavours were to make them happy, was interrupted by three great calamities, the burning of mount Vesuvius, a contagious epidemical distemper, and a dreadful fire in Rome. The first of these disasters was both the most important and the most dreadful, and is now become the most interesting to us, by the late discovery of a city buried under ground by that terrible eruption, and since found entire, at the end of almost seventeen hundred years. For these reasons, I hope I shall not be thought tedious if I am somewhat particular in my account of that memorable event.

In the first place, I must observe, that mount Vesuvius had never been thought a formidable neighbour, on account of its fiery eruptions, before the time I am now speaking of; since which* they have broken out so often, and occasioned such vast devastations. If any such happened before, the remembrance

* There have been but two very terrible eruptions since Titus's reign, the one in 472, and the other in 1631; but less violent ones, though these too are always dangerous, have happened frequently.

membrance of them was then forgotten, and people talked of them only from conjecture. The opening of the volcano, the flames that appeared above it in the night, and the smoke that issued out in the day, the whole surface of the earth, for some distance round, covered with ashes and calcined stones, together with frequent earthquakes in the neighbourhood; all these circumstances made people conclude that flames were pent up in the mountain, and had formerly been more fierce and impetuous, but that their violence had abated for want of proper matter to feed them. So far we may gather from the joint testimonies of Lucretius, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, all of whom wrote and died before Titus's reign. The elder Pliny, who lost his life by the eruption I am going to speak of, mentions Vesuvius slightly in more places than one of his Natural History, but says nothing in particular for which that mountain was famous. Seneca, whose whole sixth book of natural questions consists of inquiries after the causes of earthquakes, and particularly of that which laid all Campania waste, and did infinite damage to the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, in Nero's reign *, in the consulship of Regulus and Virginius, seems to pay no regard to the vicinity of mount Vesuvius, nor does he even say a word about it. People seem, therefore, to have lived in those days in great security in that respect, thinking they had not much to fear from a little fire issuing out of a narrow opening, and whose effects seemed rather advantageous, by the beauty and fertility of the country round about.

On the twenty-fourth † of August, in the first year of the reign of Titus, which answers to the seventy-ninth A. R. 830. Plin. VI. Ep. 16. and Dio.

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* See Vol. IV. of this work.

† The manuscripts of Pliny's letters differ greatly as to this date, the eruption not happening, according to some of them, till the third of November. I follow the general reading of the editions of that author, but do not pretend to warrant any.

seventy-ninth year of Christ, at one o'clock in the day, appeared the preludes of this dreadful desolation, which was to be a warning to the future inhabitants of the neighbourhood of mount Vesuvius to dread the dangers of it. The younger Pliny, who was then with his uncle at Mysænum, says, it first appeared like a vast cloud of an uncommon shape, which rose to a great height, forming, as it were, the trunk and branches of a pine-tree. The cloud was sometimes white, and sometimes of a dusky colour, spotted according as it contained more or less earth or ashes. They knew not at Mysænum from whence this cloud proceeded; and the elder Pliny, who commanded the Roman fleet in that port, immediately ordered a small ship to be got ready, and, as bold as he was curious, set sail in order to take a nearer view of so extraordinary a phenomenon.

All was dreadful; the earth shook violently, the mountains trembled to their very tops, a noise like thunder was heard under ground, and a hoarse bellowing that made the whole coast resound; the earth was hot, and almost burning, the sea boiled again, and the whole firmament was on fire; it seemed as if all the elements were at war with each other, and combined to destroy mankind. The fire pent up in the gulph, and struggling for vent, was what occasioned so furious a commotion. At last, surmounting all obstacles, it broke out, and threw up stones of a prodigious size, with great violence, from the mouth of the volcano, and they falling rolled down the sides of the mountain. The flames appeared next, and were soon followed by a thick cloud, which darkened the whole air, hid the sun, and changed the face of day into a night of horror.

Then it was that all began to tremble, and conclude their last hour was come. Their disturbed imaginations added to their real dangers chimeri-

cal

cal fears, which showed them giants and spectres in the dark. They were satisfied that nature was convulsed throughout, that the end of the world was come, and the earth returning to her primeval chaos. Some left their tottering houses, which seemed ready to fall upon them, and sought for safety in the streets and fields, whilst others fled from the country to the cities and houses. Those who were at sea endeavoured to gain the land, and others ran to the sea. Each thought the place where he was not safer than that where he was.

In the mean time prodigious clouds of ashes were thrown up, which filled the air, earth, and sea, and were carried as far as Rome in such quantities that they darkened the air; the surprise of the inhabitants of that city was as great as their terror, the cause of so unusual an event being then not known there. They even crossed the seas, and fled, if we believe Dion Cassius, to Africa, Syria, and Egypt. The country around Vesuvius was that which suffered most by those terrible clouds of ashes, which indeed proved the most fatal part of all. They fell in such thick and rapid showers, that the younger Pliny, who was then in the fields near Mysænum, upwards of fifteen miles from the mountain in a strait line, having been obliged to sit down with his mother on the side of the road, to avoid being crushed in the dark by the throng of those that fled, says, they were often forced to rise and shake the ashes off them; for that otherwise they would have been buried under them, and absolutely smothered; and his uncle, who was much nearer the spot, and at that time asleep at Stabiæ, was awakened by his friends and servants, who told him that the court of the house was filling with ashes, mixed with rough stones, so fast, that he was in danger of being very soon blocked up so as not to be able to escape.

The

The cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum felt the disaster which was on the point of befalling the house from whence Pliny fled, and were buried under the dreadful heaps of ashes. Those ashes, when wet by the rains which usually attend the eruptions of mount Vesuvius, and masticated by the torrents of melted matters, metals, sulphurs, and minerals of all kinds, that poured down from the top of the mountain, and hardened as they grew cold, formed one solid body, which filled up the streets and hollow spaces, till, rising above the height of the houses, those unfortunate cities were totally submerged and buried, so that not the least trace of them could be discerned. It were needless to say what mischief those ashes did at the same time to the lands, men, and cattle, round about. Dion Cassius assures us that they killed the very birds in the air and fish in the sea.

There is room to think that this eruption continued to rage violently for three days, and that it did not abate till the fourth; for the elder Pliny lost his life on the second day of the conflagration, and it was not till the third day after his death that people were sufficiently recovered from their fright to search for his body, and give it burial.

Authors do not inform us whether the number of those that perished on this occasion was considerable. The danger was foreseen before it came to any great height, and people had time to fly far enough to secure their lives. We are therefore of opinion that Dion Cassius is not to be entirely credited in what he says of the fate of the inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum, when he tells us that they were surprised unawares in the theatres of their respective cities by the showers of ashes. The people of those places, so near the danger, doubtless fled into the fields and country. Besides, the theatre of Herculaneum, when discovered and examined, but a few years ago, as before said, did not contain one dead body;

body; and it is more than probable, that if there had been any they would have been preserved, and found in the cement which must have covered them, as well as the grapes, nuts, filberds, corn, bread, and olives, which have been found, together with a pye a foot in diameter, all burnt within, though its outward form remained entire.

The city of Herculaneum discovered under ground in our days.

As I have had occasion to mention the discovery of the city of Herculaneum, found after so many ages, ten fathom deep under ground, I fear my readers would scarcely pardon my not giving them some account of so extraordinary an event. I shall borrow it chiefly from that which the learned President de la Brosse, who has been upon the spot, and seen every thing himself, has favoured us with; to which I shall add the most interesting observations of others.

Towards the beginning of this century, some of the inhabitants of Retina, a village near the sea, at a small distance from mount Vesuvius, found, in digging a well, several pieces of antique yellow marble, and some variegated Greek marble.

In 1711, the prince of Elbœuf, for reasons foreign to our present subject, being in the kingdom of Naples, happened to want some powder of marble to make statues of for a seat he was building at Portici, a village near Retina. To this end he set people to work to clear away the earth about the well where the pieces of marble had been already found, ordering them to dig as deep as they could. In so doing they discovered a temple adorned with pillars of oriental marble, and statues, which were taken away and sent to prince Eugene of Savoy. One would naturally think that such a discovery could not but tempt them to proceed and search further. However, they did not; and nothing more was done till December 1738, when Don Carlos, king of the two Sicilies, who had a palace at Portici, ordered the earth to be cleared away where

where the prince of Elbœuf had begun to dig, and mines to be bored on all sides. At ten fathom deep, the workmen found that they were exactly in the middle of a theatre, the different parts of which were discovered by degrees. After this, they pierced every way, but the passages are so low and narrow that nothing can be seen without the help of torches, which renders all observations troublesome and imperfect. These difficulties, however, have not prevented the almost entire discovery of the city of Herculaneum, which, we are now well assured, was neither thrown down nor swallowed up, but only covered and buried by the several kinds of matter discharged from the volcano. The walls in general are almost quite perpendicular, or at least incline no way but towards the sea, which may be accounted for by the pressure of the earth forced that way by the eruption.

As the city of Herculaneum was not demolished, every thing belonging to a town has of course been found there; such as public and private buildings, temples, theatres, houses, a great many statues, some of which are very fine, basso-relievos, paintings in fresco well preserved, except the colours, which seem to be faded, inscriptions, medals, all kinds of household furniture, vases, urns, tables, lamps, candlesticks, &c. and even fruits and bread, as I before said. What surprises me is, that no mention is made of any books being found. The discovery of this city, already so valuable to the cause of learning, would be much more so, if it should chance to furnish us with any part of the writings of those great masters of antiquity, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus, which, as we have them, are mutilated and very imperfect, besides what is absolutely deficient in them.

The solid matter between the surface of the soil, and the ground where Herculaneum stands, is a mixture of earths, minerals, a cement of sand and ashes,

ashes, and a condensed lava; for so the Italians call the molten matter that runs from Vesuvius, which, when cold, is almost as hard as iron. Between Herculaneum and the upper soil are some remains of a smaller town formerly built over it, and which has been likewise buried under later overflowings of mount Vesuvius. Upon the crusts which cover each of those two cities is built the village of Portici, where the king of Naples and many of his nobles have their country-seats, which some revolution like the former may possibly bury again, and make room for a fourth story to be built over them.

The city of Pompeii, which shared the fate of Herculaneum, has not remained quite hid since its burial; and if what is conjectured prove true, it was discovered before Herculaneum, though very imperfectly.

In 1689, one Francis Picketti, a Neapolitan architect, digging in a piece of ground between Vesuvius and the sea, found, in the depth of ten fathoms, some coals, iron-work for doors, and two Latin inscriptions mentioning the city of Pompeii; whence that is thought to have been the ancient site of that city. No further researches having been made after it, we still remain in the dark. Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. IX. p. 19, 20, and 21.

But I return to my subject, which leads me to speak of the death of the elder Pliny, and the danger his nephew was exposed to.

When the uncle left Mysænum, he asked his nephew if he would go with him. The younger Pliny's turn was more for eloquence and the liberal arts than for inquiries into nature. He answered, that he chose rather to study; and he was at that time busied in a task his uncle had set him. For the old Romans, who, though they had attained the highest posts, still knew how to set a just value on learning, did not think it beneath them to be preceptors to their relations. The uncle thereupon Death of the elder Pliny. Plin. VI. Ep. 14.

upon set out without his nephew; and though he saw every body fly away, he advanced boldly to the place from whence they fled, and directing his course towards the midst of the danger, still preserved such composure of mind, that he continued dictating to his secretary a description of all the circumstances, motions, and various appearances, of the terrible phenomenon he came to see. The ashes already fell in great quantities, the stones flew about, the earth under the sea was so shaken that it threw up banks in an instant which stopped any further progress, and the lava that poured down from the mountain beat in upon the waves, and filled up the entrance of the harbour. Pliny, then sensible of the danger he was in, deliberated for a few moments whether he had not best turn back, which his pilot too exhorted him to do; but his desire to know, and be more thoroughly informed, prevailed over every other consideration. 'Fortune,' said he, 'favours the bold. Let us go on to Stabii, 'where Pomponianus now is.' Pomponianus was one of his particular friends; he found him prepared for flight, waiting only till the wind, which was contrary, should change or abate. He embraced and encouraged him; and, in order to dissipate his friend's fears by his own security, he bathed, after that sat down to table and supped cheerfully; or, which speaks at least an equal command of himself, he seemed gay. In the mean time vast bodies of fire and flame broke out, and appeared by so much the more striking as they were heightened by the darkness of the night. Pliny, to encourage those that stood trembling round him, told them it was nothing but the fires which the country people had left carelessly in their hurry and confusion that were then consuming the houses they had abandoned. He went to bed, and slept so soundly that several at his chamber door heard him snore. The court before the house began, however, to fill

apace

apace with stones and ashes, as I before said; whereupon it was thought proper to awaken him, and he and his company considered what they had best do. The walls and apartments of the house tottered already and shook, and by their motions threatened to fall every moment. On the other hand, if they went into the fields they were in danger from the stones which the mountain cast out with violence. At last it was resolved to leave the house; and, to guard against the stones, they covered their heads with cushions, which they fastened under their arms with strings.

It was already daylight every where else, but all around Pliny reigned a thick darkness, which his people were forced to dispel with the help of torches. It was now absolutely necessary to retreat; and accordingly all ran to the sea-side to see if the ocean was navigable, but it was more tempestuous than ever. Pliny laid himself down on a cloth which was spread for him on the ground; there he drank two glasses of cold water; immediately after which they perceived a violent smell of sulphur, the forerunner of the approaching flames, which followed very soon. All fled; Pliny, supported by two slaves, rose, but in a moment dropped down again, suffocated without doubt by the heat of the air, which he was the less able to bear as his lungs had never been good, and he had always been subject to an asthma. His body was found two days after, as I have already said, entire, and without any sort of wound.

Thus perished, through a too ardent thirst after knowledge, one of the greatest geniuses, as well as one of the most learned and indefatigable writers, among the ancients. What befel his nephew on this occasion equally deserves our notice; and we shall find, in the account he has left us, many other circumstances which may help us to form a further idea of this terrible event.

The

Dangers to which the younger Pliny was exposed. Plin. VI. Ep. 20.

The younger Pliny staid at Mysænum, as I before observed, to pursue his studies, in which he spent the remainder of the day. The night was not passed with equal calmness. An earthquake which had already lasted some days, but which gave no great uneasiness at first, those accidents being pretty common in Campania, became at last so violent, that the house in which Pliny and his mother were, no longer gently agitated, but violently shaken to its very foundations, opened, and threatened to fall upon them every moment. The trembling mother ran to her son's apartment just as he had risen to call her in case she should be asleep. They went out, and sat down on the ground between their house and the sea-side. Pliny, who was then in his eighteenth year, imprudently, tho' his motive was commendable, fell to reading a volume of Livy, and, as was his custom, began to take notes of what he read. In the mean time one of his uncle's friends came up to them; and seeing the mother and son sitting so quietly, and he so busy in reading, grew very angry, and upbraided them with their ill-timed security; but all he could say could not get the better of Pliny's attention to his book.

By this time it drew towards noon, though what little light there was was still weak and pale. The earthquake continuing as violent as ever, Pliny and his mother did not think themselves safe in the place where they were, and therefore resolved to remove to a greater distance from the buildings, and to leave the town. Numbers of the inhabitants followed them, so terrified, that, incapable of deciding for themselves, they did whatever they saw them do. Pliny mentions on this occasion a great number of phenomena equally extraordinary and terrifying. Carriages were pushed back on a smooth even ground; and though stones were put under their wheels, they could not be kept in the same

same place. The sea flowed back upon itself, and seemed forced so to do by the violent agitation of the earth; and its waters retreating suddenly left the fish panting on the shore. A black and dismal cloud was likewise seen, from which streams of fire darted every way like lightning, fully as bright, but much larger than when it is the forerunner of thunder.

It was high time to think of flight; yet neither Pliny nor his mother could resolve upon it, such was their uneasiness for the uncertain fate of the brother of the one, and uncle of the other. 'If he is yet alive,' said their friend who had joined them, 'he desires you will think of your own 'safety; if he is dead, his intention was, that you 'should take care to survive him. Fly hence; 'you have not a moment to lose.' 'No,' replied the mother and son with one voice; 'we cannot 'think of our own safety whilst we are in any doubt 'concerning his.' Their friend, finding them deaf to his entreaties, did what he advised them to do, and fled with such precipitation that they instantly lost sight of him.

But a moment after, the cloud descended to the earth, covered the surface of the sea, encompassed the island of Capreæ, and hid the promontory of Mysænum. Then Pliny's mother prayed, entreated, and even commanded him to fly, let the consequence be what it would. 'As to me,' said she, 'old and infirm as I am, I could die with 'pleasure, provided I am not the cause of your 'death.' The son, not less generous, assured his mother that he was resolved not to live without her; and, at the same time, taking her by the hand, desired her to make what haste she could She followed him, not without difficulty, lamenting her hard fate that she should impede his flight.

The ashes had already reached them, though in small quantities. Pliny, looking behind him, saw a

thick dark cloud rolling along the earth like a torrent, which followed them very near; upon which his mother and he left the main road for fear of being crushed to death in the approaching darkness by the multitude that was with them. They had scarcely sat down when night came on; not such as is the darkest night in the open fields, when neither moon nor stars are to be seen; but as obscure as a room close shut up after every light is extinguished. It were needless to attempt to describe the consternation and lamentable cries of the vast crowd of fugitives, men, women, and children, who thought their destruction inevitable. I shall only say, that they concluded that all nature was threatened with an universal dissolution. Pliny, from whom neither sigh nor complaint was heard in this imminent danger, ascribes his firmness to the same motive, and owns that he thought so too. This indeed was but a slender comfort to him; though still it was some to think that he should perish with the whole universe, and the universe with him. The people in general did not except the gods themselves from the common fate of all, but, agreeably to the low ideas the Pagans had of their deities, imagined there were no longer any gods, that their existence was connected with that of the world, and that they were to perish with it.

The horrid darkness was for a moment interrupted by an interval of light; not that of day, but a flash that was the forerunner of a great flame just ready to break out. It did so; but, fortunately for Pliny, it did not reach the spot where he was. The fire was no sooner out than thick darkness succeeded, and the showers of ashes fell in greater quantities than before. At length the darkness, lessening by degrees, went off like a great smoke or fog. Day appeared again, and the sun was seen, but very pale, such as it is when partly eclipsed. They then could see about them, and each directed

directed his sight to the objects round him. Every thing was changed and turned upside down; the earth covered with heaps of ashes, as with snow in winter, presented a dismal prospect. Pliny and his mother returned to Mysænum, where they passed an uneasy night, the earthquake not being yet over. But neither the danger they had just escaped, nor that which they had still to fear, could induce them to leave a place where all were justly alarmed, till they knew the fate of him whose welfare was dearer to him than their own. The accounts they received were very melancholy, as we before said; nor did their anxieties end but with a certainty of the loss of the worthy object of their esteem and tenderness.

Some account of the elder Pliny. His works. His love of study. Vit. C. Plinii. Plin. Ep. iii. 5.

The elder Pliny was a man of such eminence that I cannot leave him without mentioning what we know of his person, his writings, and especially of his incredible passion for study. He was a native of Verona, and, according to the custom of the Romans, allied the profession of arms with that of letters; civil employments with military. He pleaded at the bar, and served in the army, in which his rank was equivalent to that of colonel with us. He was likewise intendant of the Cæsars in Spain, and, when he died, he was, as I before hinted, commander of the fleet at Mysænum. Yet, with all these employments, which alone would have sufficiently busied any other man, he found time to write more than can well be expected from one whose whole life is devoted to study. We have none of his works left except his Natural History, dedicated to Titus before he was emperor, who had a great esteem for the author. It is an immense work, and cannot have been composed without infinite labour and research. Pliny is taxed with being fabulous; and indeed, as his reading was greater than his real study of nature, it must be owned that this reproach is not without some

foundation. However, our modern naturalists have justified him in many respects, and proved the truth of his testimony in several things which superficial inquirers have thought proper to find fault with.

That work alone is sufficient to show the author's vast application to study. He wrote many others, of which his nephew gives us a catalogue. When an officer of horse, he composed a treatise on the exercise of the cavalry. He wrote the life of Pomponius Secundus, a man of consular dignity, and a tragic poet, whom I have mentioned more than once. This was a kind of tribute paid by Pliny to the friendship with which Pomponius had always honoured him. I have already spoken of his history of the German wars, in twenty books. He also composed a treatise on rhetoric, beginning with the orator in his infancy, as Quinctilian did afterwards, and conducting him to maturity. During the last years of Nero's reign, all merit was suspected; every ingenious work that denoted the least elevation of mind excited that tyrant's jealousy, and gave him umbrage.

Pliny, who could not be idle, was afraid of being too much noticed, to avoid which he hit upon a medium, which was to commence grammarian; and accordingly he wrote eight books on the ambiguous phrases of the Latin tongue. After Nero's death, he undertook a subject more worthy of his great parts, and composed the history of his own times, in thirty-one books, beginning where Aufidius Bassus, then a celebrated historian, had left off. His natural history was the last thing he wrote.

Besides all these works which he published, he left his nephew an hundred and sixty volumes of extracts of what he had read; for he laid every author he met with under contribution, and would often

often say, there was no book so bad but that something might be learned from it.

One cannot but be surprised to find so many different works written by one man, in a busy station of life, conversant with the great, holding several employments, obliged to pay his court to princes, and who died before he was fifty-six years old. Pliny, besides being of an extremely easy temper, had an uncommon passion for study, and indulged it to the utmost of his power. He slept but little, and stole from every night some hours for study. He was at Vespasian's levee before break of day; for that prince was so vigilant and laborious, that, as I have before observed, he gave audience, and entered upon business, very early in the morning. That ceremonial over, Pliny went through the duties of his functions, and then dedicated the remainder of the day to study, except what was spent in bathing. Nor was any more of that lost than just the moments he was in the water; for, while his slaves rubbed and wiped him, he read, and dictated to his secretary who sat near him. Whilst at supper, which was always at the same hour, and was constantly over in summer before sunset, and in winter in the first hour of the night, somebody read to him, and he took notes. In this manner did he live amidst all the hurry of Rome. When in the country, where nothing interrupted his favourite occupation, he spent his time in study. When he travelled, he did the same. A secretary always attended him in his carriage whilst he read, and took notes till they came to their journey's end. For the same reason, and not to lose any time, he made use of a carriage in Rome.

Two instances which his nephew mentions show how much he had this studious economy of time at heart. One day the person who read to him whilst he was at table happening to pronounce a word wrong, one of Pliny's friends stopped him,

and made him begin again; whereupon Pliny, turning to his friend, asked whether he did not understand him at first? The other answering that he did, 'Why then,' said Pliny, 'did you make him 'begin again? we have lost above ten lines by 'your interrupting him.' Another time, seeing his nephew walking without a book, 'You might 'not lose so much time,' said he to him; for he thought every moment lost that was not employed in study.

A more extraordinary example of assiduous application to study can, I think, scarcely be found. The younger Pliny, to whom we owe these particulars, taxes himself with indolence when compared to his uncle. All things are comparative, and he who, on this occasion, charges himself with being idle, would appear to have been very laborious, if compared with the generality of mankind; and, among them, with many whose sole profession is learning.

The study of nature did not teach the elder Pliny to know and revere its Author; his whole work is full of irreligious maxims, which ought to show us how much the human mind stands in need of being guided by a light superior to reason in all matters relating to God. Pliny has collected an infinite number of facts, in which a Providence is more conspicuous than the sun at noon-day, and yet he gives into the impieties of the Epicureans.

Plin. V. ep. 8. He adopted his sister's son, who thereupon took his name, and maintained the honour of it in point of learning, though his studies were of a different kind. The younger Pliny was one of the finest orators of his age; and added to his eloquence what is much more estimable, a noble soul, a constant readiness to do good, a strict observance of every social duty, generosity even when it was attended with great danger, and resolution enough to venture his life and fortune rather than fail in what he

he owed to a virtuous friend. I shall frequently have occasion to mention him in the course of this work, and shall be careful to collect every particular that may tend to characterize a man still more estimable for his virtues than for his great genius and superior knowledge.

Dreadful pestilence. Dio. Suet. & Eusch. Chron.

The conflagration of mount Vesuvius, already so fatal in itself, was followed by another dreadful calamity. The ashes, with which it covered the whole country, mingling with the air, caused a pestilence, of which ten thousand people are said to have died every day at Rome for a considerable time.

Titus's fatherly care of his distressed subjects.

Such misfortunes* could not fail to move Titus's compassionate heart. He felt then not merely as a prince, but like a father, and spared neither care nor expense to relieve the distressed. Every thing that could be done, either to guard against or cure the distemper, was sought for and administered by his order; and to make good the losses sustained by the inhabitants of the coast of Campania, he allotted them sufficient funds for that purpose, particularly the estates of such as had perished by the eruption, and left no heirs behind them, which of course devolved to the crown. He appointed two ancient consuls to see that proper measures were taken, and every thing suitably done for the relief of the unhappy sufferers; and, to accelerate that relief, he visited them himself the next year. A. R. 831.

Great part of Rome burnt.

Rome was again afflicted in his absence. A dreadful fire broke out in that city, and raged with great violence three days and three nights. Many of the public buildings were entirely destroyed; among others the pantheon, the Octavian library, and the capitol, which had not been long rebuilt. It would be needless to say that an infinite number of private houses were burnt down to the ground.

4 Titus,

* In his tot adversis ac talibus, non modo principis solicitudinem, sed et parentis affectum unicum præstitit. *Suet.*

Titus, with a greatness of soul worthy of the highest praise, issued an ordinance, whereby he declared that he would make good all these losses. The rich ornaments of his country-seats were appropriated to the temples and public buildings, and Roman knights were appointed to superintend the reparation of the losses private men had sustained, and to see their houses rebuilt.

So jealous was he of this honour, and so unwilling to share it with any one, that he refused the presents which cities, kings, and even some of the rich Romans, offered to help to defray so vast an expense. Economy is an infinite resource to sovereigns. By it Titus found means to provide, not only for all the exigencies of the state, but even for the pleasures and amusements of the people.

Titus's magnificence in the public shows and games.

It is well known that public shows were an object of great importance among the Romans, and one of the political resources of the emperors. Titus finished the amphitheatre his father had begun; and when he dedicated that building, and the baths which he added to it, he gave games fully as magnificent as those of any of his predecessors.

Mart. de Spectac.

This amphitheatre was a superb edifice. Martial does not scruple to extol it above the pyramids, and other boasted wonders of remote antiquity; and, indeed, what still remains of it does not fall short of his description.

The very choice of the ground on which both the amphitheatre and the baths were built was well judged, and calculated to please; for it was taken out of the vast space which Nero had enclosed for his palace.

Thus, says Martial*, Rome was restored to herself; and what had been the delight of her tyrant became,

* Reddita Roma sibi est; et sunt te præside Cæsar,
Deliciæ populi, quæ fuerant domini.

became, through the benevolence of the two Vespasians, the pleasure of her citizens.

The games he gave on this occasion lasted an hundred days, during which, combats of gladiators, fights of wild beasts, engagements by land and by water, and all the different sorts of shows that could be represented in an amphitheatre, were exhibited. Five thousand wild beasts were killed in one day only. Cranes were made to fight with one another, and likewise elephants. A woman engaged a lion, and slew it. The same place, one day filled with water, and the next dry, presented successively fleets and armies, which, under the feigned names of Corcyrans and Corinthians, Syracusans and Athenians, nations once famous for their warlike achievements, represented the battles recorded by Thucydides.

To these diversions, which pleased only the eye, Titus added another, which delighted the people by the profit arising from it. This was a kind of lottery, like that which Nero made, consisting of little balls, with inscriptions on them, which were thrown among the populace. Whoever got one of these had a prize, which was paid at an office erected for that purpose, in victuals, clothes, gold or silver plate, horses, cattle, slaves, &c.

Death of Titus. A. R. 832.

Titus is said to have wept greatly, in the presence of all the people, on the last day of these magnificent shows, intended only for pleasure and diversion. Historians would have us think those tears an omen of his approaching death; but they had much better have told us their real cause.

Soon after this he visited the country of the Sabines, from whence his family came originally. Suetonius observes that he was somewhat melancholy when he set out. Superstition was the cause. Two events, quite natural in themselves, struck him at that time. The one was a clap of thunder,

whilst

whilst the sky was quite clear and serene; the other, a victim's flying from the altar just as he was going to sacrifice it. Titus, like his father, believed in all the follies of divination and astrology; and
Suet. Tit. 9. Suetonius says, that when he pardoned the two patricians who had conspired against him, he had their horoscopes calculated, and warned them that they were threatened with a great danger, but at some distance of time, and from another person.

Id. ibid. 10. and Dio. Though Rieti is scarce twelve leagues from Rome, Titus made two day's journey of it, and was taken ill of a fever the first night on the road. He went on, however, the next day, and, finding his disorder increase, he opened his litter*, and looking up towards heaven, lamented his being doomed to die without deserving it. 'For,' added he, 'I have nothing to reproach myself with 'during the whole course of my life, save one ac-'tion.' Perhaps he spoke truth, so far at least as relates to moral probity, and the irregularities of his youth excepted. But he did not know that one may be very innocent with respect to man, and yet guilty in the sight of God; that, besides what we owe to our fellow-creatures, duties of a higher nature are due to God, and are the foundation of all true virtue.

It is not known what this single fault was, of which Titus acknowledged he had been guilty. Some have thought that he meant an adulterous commerce with his sister-in-law Domitia. But Suetonius refutes that suspicion by the testimony of Domitia herself, who constantly denied the fact; whereas, had it been true, her turn was such, that she would rather have gloried in it, and have thought it an honour. Dion Cassius, who is apt to be

* Suspexisse dicitur, dimotis plagulis, cœlum, multumque conquestus: Eripi sibi vitam immerenti; neque enim exstare ullum suum factum pœnitendum, excepto duntaxat uno. *Suet.*

be a little unhappy in his conjectures, thinks the dying emperor reproached himself with his excessive indulgence towards his brother, and repented his not having put him to death, after he had found him guilty of attempts against his life, and by that means have delivered the empire from one that would be a scourge to it. But, as M. de Tillemont very justly observes, even Nero could not have thought it a crime to pardon a brother. Let us then be content not to know what we never can be informed of, and what, after all, is of no great consequence to us.

Titus was not long ill. Plutarch, who writes from what was the opinion of the physicians that attended Titus, says his disorder was not thought dangerous at first, but that the prince increased it by going into the bath, which habit had rendered necessary to him. Many believed he was poisoned by his brother; and this suspicion is no way inconsistent with the character of Domitian, who gave but too many proofs of his being capable of the greatest crimes. They add, that Titus not dying so fast as Domitian wished, the latter ordered him to be put into a tub of snow, under pretence that his disorder required great cooling; and that, before the breath was out of his brother's body, he made all the haste he could to Rome, to get himself acknowledged and saluted emperor by the pretorians. These several facts cannot all be rejected as improbable; though I own I am surprised that Suetonius makes no mention of them.

Plut. Τίτια παραγγέλματα.

Dio. and Zonaras.

Titus died on the thirteenth of September in the same house where his father expired, near Rieti, in the forty-first year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. He was born the thirtieth of December*, in the year of Rome

Suet. Tit. ii. 1. and 2.

* See M. de Tillemont's note on the birth of Titus.

Rome 791, which answers to the fortieth of the Christian era.

The house and room in which Titus was born were shown in Suetonius's time. They were but ordinary, and no way suitable to the grandeur he afterwards attained. He was twice married, first to Arricidia Tertulla, daughter of a Roman knight who had been pretorian prefect. His second wife was Marcia Furnilla, a lady of noble extraction, by whom he had a daughter named Julia. He afterwards repudiated Marcia, for what cause we know not, but probably it was no other than his amours with Berenice; after whose dismission he never thought of marrying again, though reasons of state seemed strongly to require it; for, as he could not leave the empire to his daughter, he should, out of love for his people, have put himself in a situation to have a son to exclude Domitian. The wicked seem possessed of a privilege to make good men fear them. Domitian had gained such an ascendancy over Titus that the latter could not, or dared not, oppose him.

Dio. History is full of his praises, without laying any fault to his charge, from the time of his accession to the empire till his death. Some have thought that his premature death was a means of establishing his high character; and that, as it was a great advantage to Augustus to live long enough to make the Romans forget the ills he had done them in his youth, and bring them over to love him, Titus, on the contrary, cherished from the very first by every order of the state, was happy in dying so soon, or he might have found it difficult to preserve their favourable opinion. But such conjectures, which have no manner of foundation, ought to be rejected by every equitable and judicious judge.

—Suet. 11. His death was justly esteemed a public loss. As soon as an account of it came to Rome, the senate, without

without staying to be convened, met at their usual place of assembly, heaped praises on his memory, and expressed greater affection for him than they had ever done before, even when this beloved prince presided in person at their deliberations.

Titus was ranked among the gods. This was the only honour Domitian did to the memory of a brother who had always been the object of his hatred and envy; and whose conduct, so different from his own, he never missed an opportunity to censure and revile. Suet. Dom. 2.

Another pretended Nero made his appearance in the reign of Titus. He was by birth an Asian; his real name was Terentius Maximus; and as he chanced to resemble in shape, features, tone of voice, and taste for music, the person he wanted to pass for, he found numbers of partisans, and a powerful protector in the person of Artabanus king of Parthia, then at variance with the Roman emperor. Zonaras, the only author who mentions this impostor, does not tell us what his fate was, nor is the Artabanus he speaks of mentioned any where else in history. Pretended Nero. Zonar.

Agricola, who was sent into Britain by Vespasian, continued to carry on the war there under Titus with such success as merited the title of *Imperator* to his prince. That general, whom his son-in-law Tacitus has made us so well acquainted with, most certainly deserves a distinguished place in the history of the times I am now treating of. But I shall defer speaking of him till the end of his expeditions and command, which lasted seven years. Agricola's exploits in Britain.

PRINCIPAL

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF DOMITIAN.

A. R. 832. A. C. 81. SEX. FLAVIUS SILVANUS. T. ANNIUS VERUS POLLIO.

Domitian succeeds Titus, who died on the thirteenth of September.

The beginning of his reign intermixed with some appearance of good.

A. R. 833. A. C. 82. DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS VIII.* T. FLAVIUS SABINUS.

Several regulations are made this year, an account of which is given in the body of this work.

A. R. 834. A. C. 83. DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS IX. Q. PETILLIUS RUFUS II.

Three vestals condemned, but left at liberty to choose their death.

Domitian's expedition to Germany, to make war against the Catti. He returns without having seen the enemy, and causes triumphal honours to be decreed him. It is probable that he then took, or was confirmed in, the surname of Germanicus.

A. R. 835. A. C. 84. DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS X. ———— SABINUS.

Domitian's colleague seems to have been Oppius Sabinus, who lost his life soon after in the war against the Daci.

Agricola

* Hitherto Domitian has appeared but twice as consul; but besides his two consulships in ordinary, he was five times consul by subrogation.

Agricola gains a complete victory over the Caledonians. The ornaments of triumph decreed the victor.

DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS XI. A. R. 838. A. C. 85.
———— FULVIUS.

The Fulvius who was consul with Domitian, is thought to have been either T. Aurelius Fulvius, or Fulvius the grandfather of the emperor Titus Antoninus.

DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS XII. A. R. 837. A. C. 86.
SER. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Institution of the Capitoline games.
Beginning of the war against the Daci, according to Eusebius.
The Nasamons conquered and extirpated.

DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS XIII. A. R. 838. A. C. 87.
———— SATURNINUS.

Continuation of the Dacian war during this and the following years.

DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS XIV. A. R. 839. A. C. 88.
L. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Secular games.
Pretended Nero.

———— FULVIUS. A. R. 840. A. C. 89.
———— ATRATINUS.

The astrologers banished from Rome.

DOMITIANUS

A. R. 841. A. C. 90. DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS XV.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

The end of the Dacian war may be placed under this year. Domitian, having concluded peace with the barbarians, has the honours of triumph decreed him.

A. R. 842. A. C. 91. M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS.
— ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Domitian triumphs for his victories over the Daci and Germans. Games on that occasion. He gives the principal senators a dismal entertainment, in which every thing seemed to portend death; and afterwards dismisses them, laughing at their fears.

He changes the names of the months of September and October, and calls them Germanicus and Domitianus. He began his reign in the first of these months, and was born in the other. Their new names subsisted no longer than whilst he reigned.

It is probable that he closed the temple of Janus this year.

Cornelia, chief of the vestals, buried alive.

A. R. 843. A. C. 92. DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS XVI.
Q. VOLUSIUS SATURNINUS.

Domitian orders quantities of vines to be plucked up, and forbids planting others without leave from the magistracy.

* Revolt of L. Antonius, who commanded in the Upper Rhine. He is defeated and killed.

Domitian's

* I place L. Antonius's revolt under this year, to make it agree with the time of Agricola's death. These two events cannot have

Domitian's more than usual cruelty on that occasion. Alterations made in the army.

——— Pompeius Collega. A. R. 844. A. C. 93.
——————— Priscus.

Death of Agricola.

Bæbius Massa accused of extortion by Herennius Senecio and the younger Pliny.

War with the Sarmatians, in consequence of which Domitian bore a laurel crown to the capitol.

——————— Asprenas. A. R. 845. A. C. 94.
——— ——— Lateranus.

Domitian puts to death Herennius Senecio, Helvidius Priscus, and Arulænus Rusticus.

Fannia, the widow of Helvidius Priscus, father of him we have just been speaking of, and Arria, the mother of Fannia, banished, together with Junius Mauricus, brother to Arulænus.

Expulsion of the philosophers, among whom Epictetus made a considerable figure at that time.

Poem written by Sulpicia, a Roman lady, on the expulsion of the philosophers.

Quinctilian was then finishing his *Institutiones Oratoriæ*.

Domitianus Augustus XVII. A. R. 846. A. C. 95.
——————— Flavius Clemens.

been very distant from each other, since they are set down, the one by Dion Cassius and the younger Victor, the other by Tacitus, (Agr. 44.) as the epoch of Domitian's greatest cruelties. Dion Cassius does not speak of L. Antonius's revolt till after he has done with the Dacian war. Now, Domitian's triumph over the Daci belongs to the preceding year. These reasons have induced me to differ from M. de Tillemont, who places the revolt of L. Antonius five years earlier.

The Christians persecuted. This is reckoned their second persecution. Flavius Clemens, colleague with, and nearly related to, Domitian, and Flavia Domitilla, Clemens's wife and relation, suffer under this persecution. Clemens is put to death, and Domitilla banished to the island of Pandataria.

St John, after being miraculously preserved from the boiling cauldron, banished to the isle of Patmos, where he wrote his Apocalypse.

Inquiry made, by Domitian's order, after the posterity of David.

Juventius Celsus and some others form a conspiracy against Domitian. He is discovered; but, by protesting that he was innocent, and promising to make inquiry into the conspiracy, and reveal the discoveries he should make, he obtains a respite, during which Domitian dies.

Acilius Glabrio put to death.

Domitian likewise puts Epaphroditus to death for having helped Nero to kill himself.

A. R. 847.
A. C. 96.

C. FULVIUS VALENS.
C. ANTISTIUS VETUS.

The consul Valens was ninety years old.

Domitian killed in his palace by some of his freedmen. His wife Domitia concerned in the plot, as well as Nerva, who succeeded him.

His death said to have been foretold him, and that Apollonius Tyanæus, then at Ephesus, knew and declared it the very moment it happened.

Domitian died detested by the senate, indifferent to the people, but regretted by the army.

Silius Italicus, Statius, Juvenal, and Martial, flourished under Domitian. The first and two last survived him.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Every vice centered in Domitian. He shows his vanity at the very first, and carries it to the utmost height. Laudable actions and regulations. Instances of just severity. Domitian was not covetous from inclination, but grew so through the wants to which his vast expenses reduced him. Domitian's buildings. Theatrical diversions. Secular games. Liberalities and entertainments. Additional pay to the troops. Cruelty was natural to him. He exercised it in cool blood, and with the most refined dissimulation. A regulation, desired by the senate in favour of the senators, refused by Domitian. Several illustrious senators put to death by Domitian. Even the common people not exempt from his vengeance. Cornelia, a vestal, buried alive. Pegasus and Vibius Crispus escape Domitian's cruelty by their great obsequiousness. His debauches. His incestuous commerce with his niece, whose death he is the cause of. He was less intemperate with regard to his table, but arrogant, sullen, and unsociable. His vanity makes him think of shining in war. His expedition against the Catti, for which he triumphs without having even seen the enemy. The Cherusci conquered by the Catti. Ganna, a pretended prophetess. War with the Daci. Domitian concludes a shameful peace with Decebalus king of the Daci. Domitian triumphs. His sluggish effeminacy. All military discipline enervated. The people vexed and harassed. Frightful entertainment given by Domitian to the chief citizens of Rome. The Nasamons destroyed. Domitian's expedition against the Sarmatians. Pretended Nero. People murdered with poisoned needles.

Every vice centered in Domitian.

WHAT Livy says* of Hieronymus's succeeding Hiero, may very justly be applied to Domitian's succeeding Titus, changing only their names. Even a good prince would have found it difficult to make his subjects love him after Titus, whom they perfectly adored. But Domitian seemed to strive, by his vices, to make every one regret his brother. All that could render both his person and government contemptible and odious was united in him. Meanly proud, insatiably greedy of titles, monuments, and abject flattery, his vanity made him jealous of whosoever excelled or was distinguished in any shape, and all merit was a crime with him. His temper was close and gloomy, incapable of love or attachment to any one. He dreaded his father as if he had been a slave, and hated his brother. The friends of both found a bitter enemy in him. Pusillanimous and suspicious, he was cruel from cowardice, and sacrificed an infinite number of illustrious lives to his fears and perpetual distrusts. His prodigality and bad management reduced him to want, and want made him commit every sort of rapine and extortion. Deceit and artifice were joined in him to all the other vices that constitute a tyrant; nor did any one ever know better how to disguise the most revengeful hatred under the specious appearance of friendship and affection. Capricious to the highest degree, he was equally offended when flattered and when not flattered. He had sense enough to distrust all servile adulation, but too much arrogance

Dio.

* Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tanta caritati Hieronis. Verùm enimvero Hieronymus velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, &c. *Lib.* xxiv. 5.

gance not to require it. Slothful and averse from all application to business, his lazy indolence was such that he would spend whole hours every day in killing flies in his closet. Every one knows the answer which Vibius Crispus made on that occasion to a person who asked him whether any body was with the emperor? No,' replied he, 'not even a 'fly.' Domitian had neither courage nor capacity for war; he was as much despised by his enemies abroad, as he was hated and detested at home; and his triumphs* are so many monuments of his shameful defeats. To all this add the most unbounded debauchery; his youthful days spent in vice and corruption, and his riper years in a continued series of adulteries, incests, and weakness for a lewd wife, whom he ravished from her lawful husband, and who, still continuing to behave with the utmost immodesty, found the secret of captivating him as long as he lived; till at last, threatened with death herself, she prevented it by his. Such is the picture which history has given us of Domitian; and the facts I shall relate will show how faithfully it is drawn.

Suet. Dom. 3.

Suet. Dom 1.

He did not show all his vices at first; but as to vanity, which he mistook for love of glory, he gave an entire loose to it, and accordingly accepted, in the very beginning of his reign, all the titles of honour, some of which other emperors had been used to defer, that they might have time at least to seem to have deserved them. He did not scruple to say in full senate, that the supreme power, which he was then entering on, was but a restitution made him by his father and brother of what was his right, and which he had condescended to let them enjoy; as if his happening to be at Rome when Vi-

He shows his vanity at the very first, and carries it to the utmost height. Tille. Dom. art. 2.

Suet. Dom 13. and Dio.

3 tellius

* Cujus (Domitiani) pulsi non aliud majus habebatur indicium, quam quod triumpharet. *Plin. Pan.* 11.

tellius died, and the honours that were then done him, honours for which he was indebted solely to his being Vespasian's son, had entitled him to the empire before Vespasian himself, out of regard for whom they were conferred upon him.

Aus. Grat. act. pro Cons.

Envying all private men even the small prerogative of marking the years with their names, he caused himself to be appointed consul for ten years to come. He took, indeed, but seven of these consulships running, the other three being in the last eight years of his reign. As he had already been consul seven times both under Vespasian and Titus, he prided himself greatly on being in all seventeen times consul, which no other Roman, either before or after him, ever was. He was so fond of pomp and idle show, that instead of twelve lictors, which the consuls always had before, Domitian had twenty-four; and he never presided in the senate, after he had once triumphed, but in his triumphal dress. The same vanity that made him covet the consulship, taking another turn, made him despise the functions of that post. He never was consul above four months together, and generally held his office only till the thirteenth of January, when, without having discharged any part of the duties of it, he abdicated, not with the usual ceremonies, before the senate assembled, or even the people, but only by an edict or declaration, posted up at the corner of a street; so that, says Pliny*, the only thing almost by which one could know that he was in the consulship was, that only one consul appeared.

Dio. and Suet.

Plin. Pan. 65.

He rebuilt several edifices which had been burnt both in Nero's time and in the late fire; but had only his own name inscribed on them, without making

* Ut hoc solo intelligerentur ipsi consules fuisse, quod alii non fuissent.

king the least mention of their first founders. He filled the world, as Dion Cassius says, with his statues, and would suffer none to be erected to him in the capitol that were not of gold, or at least silver, and of a certain weight. Such quantities of victims were sacrificed to them, that the streets leading to the capitol were often crowded by them; and as much * blood of beasts was spilt, says Pliny, to honour the image of a tyrant, as there was blood of men shed by his command to glut his cruelty. He was so jealous of the respect due to his statues, that he ordered a woman to be put to death for no other crime than having undressed herself before one of them. He tired the patience of all men by the numbers of triumphal arches which he built in every street and corner of Rome, as monuments of his pretended victories. Somebody on this occasion wrote on one of them, in Greek, Ἄρκεῖ, *It is enough.*

Plin. Pan. 52.

Dio.

Suet.

After the Germans had beaten and repulsed him every where, he took the surname of Germanicus, as if he had conquered them, and likewise gave it to the month of September, in which he ascended the imperial throne. October, the month in which he was born, was ordered to be called after his name Domitianus. He caused himself to be proclaimed *Imperator*, or victorious general, twenty-two times during the course of his reign, though he was almost always shamefully defeated.

The title of lord and master, which both Augustus and Tiberius had rejected with a kind of horror, was too little for Domitian's pride and arrogance, without adding to it that of god. Dictating one day the form to be observed by his intendants in whatever letters they were to write or publish in

* Quum sævissimi domini atrocissima effigies tanto victimarum cruore coleretur, quantum ipse humani sanguinis profundebat. *Plin.*

his name began thus; *Our Lord and God commands as follows.* This impious style was observed during his whole reign. He himself made use of it; for when he publicly declared by an edict his reconciliation with his wife Domitia, when he took her home again after having repudiated her, his expression was, *We have again received her into our sacred bed**. None was allowed to speak or write to him but in these impious terms, as Martial testifies †.

After such a step, not to be matched by any thing but Caligula's frantic madness, it is almost needless to say, that he converted the house in which he was born into a temple, dedicated to his family by the name of the Flavii, and instituted a college of priests to serve it. In this, indeed, he did nothing more than what had been done before in honour of the Julii, Claudii, and Domitii.

Suet. Dom. 1. and 4.

I have thrown together these characterizing strokes, though, as the reader must be sensible, they do not all belong to the same period of time, in order to give an idea of Domitian's excessive vanity; a vice which, as I before said, he showed from the very first, whilst he concealed his others; for we shall find in the beginning of his reign some actions, and several regulations, which really deserve to be commended.

Among these might be reckoned the honours he paid to his brother's memory, and the funeral oration which he spoke with tears for that beloved prince, had he not at the same time spoiled all by plainly showing that he only acted a farce. Every one saw through it, and the courtiers were not a little puzzled how to behave. To seem sad and melancholy might be construed an affront, as

* *Pulvinar* properly signifies the couch or bed on which the Romans used to lay the statues of their gods at their sacred feasts, and the nich where they stood.

† Edictum Domini Deique nostri. *Mart.* V. 8

as being contrary to his real sentiments; and to appear pleased and joyous, would have been showing that they guessed his thoughts, and saw through the mask. The following passages of his life bear a different stamp, and deserve praise.

He kept a strict and watchful eye over the magistrates both of the city and provinces, and restrained them within such bounds, that they were never known to have been more modest in the exercise of their functions, or more careful to avoid doing an unjust thing; whereas the mildness of the government under his successors Nerva and Trajan gave many then in place room to deviate from the laws of equity, by which they drew upon themselves shameful accusations. Laudable actions and regulations. Instances of just severity. Suet. Dom. 8. and Dio.

He administered justice himself with great integrity, would often tell the judges what uprightness was required in their high stations, and punished severely whoever dared to take a bribe. He more than once took extraordinary cognizance of causes which had been determined wrong; and, seated on his tribunal in the forum, annulled, by virtue of his supreme authority, decrees in which favour and affection had prevailed over right and justice. He ordered back into servitude, and restored to his master, a slave who had for several years assumed a pretended right to freedom, and was then a centurion in the army. An edile being justly suspected of avarice and rapine, Domitian exhorted the tribunes of the people to prosecute him for concussion, and to desire the senate to appoint judges to try him.

He took upon him the office of censor, which, after his father's example, he kept during his whole reign, and discharged the functions of it by several edicts for the reformation of manners. He forbade the use of litters to all women of dissolute lives, and incapacitated them from receiving such legacies or inheritances as they would otherwise have been entitled

titled to. An ancient questor was expelled the senate by his command for being too fond of theatrical entertainments. He struck a Roman knight off the list of judges for taking back his wife after he had repudiated her for adultery. He revived and enforced the law *Scantinia* against persons convicted of crimes contrary to nature, for which some senators and knights were punished. He ought likewise to be commended for forbidding any eunuchs to be made throughout the whole extent of the empire, though the motive that induced him to make so just and wise a law might perhaps proceed from a malicious design to upbraid his brother for having countenanced so much as he did that kind of monsters, so unworthy the protection of a wise and good prince. And indeed there seems to be some room to think that was his intention; for Domitian's own conduct was such, that no man can imagine love of virtue to have been the cause of any one thing he ever did to promote a greater purity of morals. For the same reason, we think the severe punishment he inflicted on three vestals, whose disorderly life had not been particularly noticed by his father or brother, may safely be imputed to his desire to depreciate their government. Domitian condemned them to die, but left them the choice of their deaths. Two of them, sisters, were called Ocellata, the name of the third was Varronilla. We shall soon have occasion to speak of another vestal's being put to death, of which we have a more particular account.

Suet. Dom. 7. and Dio.

Suet. Dom. 8. and Dio.

Such rigour was no more of a piece with Domitian's own morals and behaviour than was his ardent zeal against every slight or irreverence shown to religion, with his impiety in usurping the name and honours due to the Deity. This devout pontiff, shocked to see some of the stones destined for the capitol made use of by one of his freedmen to build a monument for his son, ordered a party

party of soldiers to pull down the tomb, and throw the ashes of the deceased into the sea. His treatment of the astrologers was equally inconsistent; for, though he firmly believed in their delusive arts, he passed an edict by which they were all banished from Rome. Suet. Dom. 14. 16. Euseb. Chron.

One may easily perceive that Domitian piqued himself on being severe. He suppressed defamatory libels, which attacked the characters of persons of distinction of both sexes, and punished the authors of them. He regulated the police of the theatres; forbade pantomimes to appear on the public stage, and allowed them to perform only in private houses. Observing that there was plenty of wine and scarcity of corn in Italy, he ordered that no more vines should be planted there, and that half of those which were then growing should be destroyed. Suetonius says, he did not persist in the strict observance of this order; and we learn from Philostratus that Asia obtained a particular indulgence in this respect. A proof, however, that it was observed, at least in some countries, is, that the emperor Probus, an hundred and eighty years after, gave the Gauls, Spaniards, and Pannonians, leave to plant and cultivate vines. Suet. Dom. 7. Philost. de vit. Soph. l. 21. 6. Vop. et Eutr. in Probo.

Covetousness was not a vice he was naturally inclined to. He showed no disposition towards it before he was emperor; and for a long time after he seemed rather liberal, and an enemy to rapine and extortion. Domitian was not covetous from inclination, but grew so through the want to which his vast expences had reduced him. Suet. Dom. 9. and 1...

The first thing he recommended to his officers, and that on which he insisted most, was, that they should abstain from all sordid gains; and that they might be under no temptation in that respect, he made them considerable presents. If those who left their estates to him had children of their own, he refused to accept them. Some pieces of land, part of what had been destined to be distributed among the colonized troops, but which were still unsettled,

he

he gave to the actual possessors of them, thinking that they had acquired a prescriptive right, preferable to any claim he could have. Being sensible how irksome the duties collected by the treasury often were to many, he was not strict in insisting on the regular payment of them; and even chid the impertinent forwardness of some greedy informers, who, under pretence of taking care of the interest of the imperial revenues, harassed the subject with iniquitous prosecutions. He not only disappointed them of their prey, but made them suffer the penalties enacted against calumniators. A saying worthy of the best of princes is ascribed to him on this occasion: 'The prince,' said he *, 'who does not punish informers, countenances 'and encourages them.'

But these actions, though laudable in themselves, did not spring from a motive of virtue. It was from taste, and not for principle, that Domitian did good. As circumstances changed, so did his behaviour. He loved magnificence; and when his treasures were quite exhausted by his mad expenses, he was forced to have recourse to tyrannical exactions to gratify that passion. The most frivolous pretence was then sufficient to confiscate the estates of the living and the dead. If there was but an accuser to be found, that was enough; no matter how low and vile he was, provided he could charge them with only a report of their having said or done the least thing contrary to the respect due to the emperor's majesty. The exchequer seized on all rich inheritances, if but a single witness would declare that he had heard the deceased say he made Cæsar his heir. Above all, the Jews were tormented on account of the general tax laid upon their nation. They were dragged before the judges, who fined them, and made them suffer every kind of hardship.

* Princeps, qui delatores non castigat, irritat.

hardship. This was probably what gave rise to the persecution of the Christians, of which we shall speak in the proper place.

The expenses by which Domitian was impoverished were, first, building. To rebuild the capitol, again burnt by the fire I spoke of in the reign of Titus, was a necessary thing; but then Domitian knew no bounds in the sumptuous magnificence with which he did it. We may guess, by the article of gilding only, what the whole expense must have been, that single ornament having cost upwards of twelve thousand talents*. The same prodigality, and pompous execution, prevailed in every building of Domitian's erecting, of which there was a great number. If, says Plutarch†, after admiring the magnificence of the capitol, one goes to Domitian's palace, and there observes a portico, or the baths, or his seraglio, one cannot but apply to him what the poet Epicharmes said to a prodigal spendthrift: 'What you are doing is neither ge-'nerosity nor benevolence; it is a madness that 'possesses you; you love to give.' So one might have said to Domitian, 'You are neither religious 'nor magnificent; you love to build, and, Midas-'like, would fain turn every thing into gold and 'precious stones.

Domitian's buildings.

Plut. Popl.

Theatrical

* The real value of a talent is uncertain. The Egyptian talent was worth about L. 86 of our money, and the Antiochan near L. 400. M. Crevier, in his calculation, seems to take the Alexandrian, which Dr Arbuthnot values at L. 104. Twelve thousand times any one of them is indeed an immense sum for the gilding of any palace.

† Ὁ μέντοι θαυμάσας τὴν καπιτωλίου τὴν πολυτελείαν, εἰ μίαν εἶδεν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Δομετιανοῦ τοῦτ', ἢ βασιλικὴν, ἢ βαλανεῖον, ἢ παλλακιδων διαιταν, οἷον ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἐπιχάρμου πρὸς τὸν ἄσωτον· ὁ φιλάνθρωπος τύ γ' ἐσσί· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις διδοὺς τοιοῦτον ἄν τι πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπεῖν προύχθη. Οὐκ εὐσεβὴς οὐδὲ φιλότιμος, τύ γ' ἐσσί· ἔχεις νόσον· χαίρεις κατοικοδομῶν· ὥσπερ ὁ Μίδας ἐκεῖνος, ἅπαντά σοι χρυσᾶ καὶ λίθινα βουλόμενος γένεσθαι. *Plut.*

Theatrical diversions. Suet. 4. 7. and Dio.

Theatrical shows and entertainments were another great expense which helped to ruin Domitian. He regularly gave all sorts of them, and always attended with prodigious cost. Not to tire the reader with unnecessary repetitions, I refer to what has been already said of the games given by Titus, and other preceding emperors, the most magnificent of which he at least equalled, and frequently surpassed.

This general idea of things, in themselves frivolous, might satisfy such as read history for useful instruction only. But as the writers who are my present guides, very different from Tacitus, have given an air of importance to things which that great historian would have passed unnoticed, let us for once show the only originals we have left, so much regarded as to borrow some new accounts from them.

Whilst Domitian was exhibiting a representation of a sea-fight, in which the ships were so numerous on both sides that they formed almost two complete fleets, a heavy rain fell and lasted a long time. His heart was so bent on the diversion that he sat it out to the end, amidst all the wet, and would not suffer any one to stir. It is true, he changed his upper garment several times; but the other spectators who had not that convenience were so excessively wet that many of them fell sick, and some died of it.

To the four factions of the circus, distinguished, as I have elsewhere observed, by their different colours, he added two new ones, one dressed in gold, and the other in purple. But this institution did not last long; the people soon returned to the four they had been used to.

The diversions often lasted all night; and Domitian frequently gave combats of gladiators, and fights of wild beasts, by moon-light, or with the help of torches.

Even

Even the weaker sex acted on these occasions a part one would think fit only for men. Girls ran races, and women fought in the circus like gladiators.

Domitian was present at all these diversions, and generally had between his legs a young child, whose only merit was, that his head was extremely small in proportion to his body. His chief conversation there was with this child, whom he would sometimes talk to about serious affairs. He was overheard one day asking him whether he knew what was his reason for making Metius Rufus prefect of Egypt in the last promotion.

He celebrated the secular games in his fourteenth consulship, in the year of Rome 839, and of Christ 88; being in a greater hurry than even Claudius had so ridiculously been to see that ceremony; for sixty-four years had intervened between Augustus's and Claudius's games; whereas Domitian allowed only an interval of forty-one years for his. His reasons for celebrating these games at that time, and the calculation on which he founded those reasons, were explained by Tacitus, who was pretor that very year; but we have lost that part of Tacitus's writings which contained the history of Domitian's reign, and consequently we know nothing more of this subject than what we can collect from dates of times. Domitian celebrated his games an hundred and five years after Augustus's; so that his way of reckoning the century does not agree either with the vulgar computation, or with the century of an hundred and ten years.

Secular games. Cens. de die Nat. 17.

Tac. XI. Ann. 11.

Not satisfied with the games already established, though their number was sufficiently great, he instituted new ones *, gymnastic, musical, and equestrian, at the same time; or rather, he revived those

Suet. et Cens. de die Nat. 18.

* Games in which prizes were proposed for wrestling, music, poetry, and horse-racing.

those which had been instituted by Nero, and were abolished at his death. Domitian's subsisted, probably because he did not call them after his own name, as Nero had done his, but consecrated them to Jupiter Capitolinus. They were celebrated every fifth year, like the Olympic games, which they greatly resembled in other respects. Domitian instituted them in his twelfth consulship, which happened in the year of Rome 837, and of Christ 86. At these games were prizes for poetry and eloquence. Domitian, who had for some time pretended to be an admirer of the muses, now feigned to be passionately fond of them. As the manner and plan of the Capitoline games was taken more from the Greeks than from the Romans, Domitian presided at them dressed after the Greek fashion, and wearing a crown of gold, in which were set the images of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. He was attended by the priest of Juno, and the college of priests which he himself had instituted in honour of the Flavian family; all dressed like himself, with this difference only, that they wore an image of the emperor in their crowns.

Domitian celebrated the feast of Minerva every year, in his house at Alba, with great pomp and magnificence. He chose that goddess for his guardian deity, and styled himself her son, though the Pagan mythology makes her a pure virgin. So fond was he of being called Minerva's son, that a magistrate of Tarentum, if we may credit Philostratus, was prosecuted as a criminal for having omitted to give him that title at a sacrifice. Poets and orators were likewise allowed to contend at these games; and Statius, who could not obtain the prize at the Capitoline games, was crowned three times at those of Minerva.

Philostr. Apollon. vit. vil. 24.

Stat. ad uxor. Claud. et in Epiced. patris.

Liberalities and entertainments.

These feasts, combats, and games, so prodigiously expensive in themselves, were attended with another charge not less fit to exhaust the public finances,

finances. I mean presents and lotteries, such as I have before spoken of in the reigns of Nero and of Titus, and a vast profusion of wine, eatables, and other such things, at every diversion of that kind. Nero's ministers had very wisely abolished the custom of giving public treats and entertainments, which for some time had been usual on certain occasions, and in lieu thereof they sent baskets of victuals to such as would have been invited, which was much less expensive to the crown. Domitian revived those entertainments, and gave a most magnificent one to all the people after the mock-fight, during which it rained so hard. Suet. Ner. 15.

In short, in hopes of securing the affection of all the soldiers, and of finding in them a constant support against the hatred of the senate and great men of the empire, he increased the pay of the troops a fourth part, promising that they should always have three hundred denarii, instead of two hundred and twenty-five that were paid them before. He soon became so sensible of the inconvenience of this increase of pay, that he wanted to reduce the number of the forces of the empire in order to remedy it; but finding that impracticable, without leaving the frontiers exposed to the incursions of barbarians bordering upon them, he had recourse to the meanest and most unbounded rapine, and the most horrid cruelties against the first and richest citizens of Rome. Additional pay to the troops. Suet. Dom. 8. and 12. Vid. Gron. de Pec. Vet. III. 2.

There was no occasion for this or any other motive to spur Domitian on to cruelty. He was by nature cruel, and delighted in doing hurt. It is a mere puerility in Suetonius to allege, as he does, in favour of his pretended mildness, the whim that once took him on reading a line* of Virgil, in Cruelty was natural to him. Suet. Dom. 9.

* ——— antè
Impia quàm cæsis gens est epulata juvencis.
Virg. Georg. iii. 536.

which that poet says, it is a wicked thing to feed on the flesh of so useful a beast as an ox. Domitian, then young, and already attempting to assume almost all the prerogatives of sovereignty in his father's absence, wanted, it is said, to make a law to forbid killing oxen. No judgment can surely be formed of his real character by that childish fancy, which made no impression on him, and was very soon over. We have already seen that he piqued himself on being severe. That turn, when a man takes a pride in it, and indulges it out of taste and inclination, borders very nearly on cruelty. He made no scruple of showing how little he valued clemency, and would often say, that the princes who punished least might think themselves happier, but not better, than others. It is well known how much suspicion and distrust are capable of making sovereigns cruel; now, that Domitian was suspicious to the highest degree, is a certain fact, nor did he attempt to conceal it. He used frequently to say, alluding to an expression of Demosthenes, that distrust is the people's safeguard against tyrants, and the tyrant's safeguard against all. He even took an inhuman pleasure in the groans and tears of suffering men. Nero, says Tacitus*, at least did not delight in seeing the torments of those he so unjustly and cruelly condemned. Under Domitian, the pain of seeing and being seen was added to the anguish of the wretched. He presided at the meetings of the senate in which his victims were to be delivered up to him, examined the prisoners himself, had them brought to him to cross-examine them alone, and would often lay hold of the end of the chain they were fastened to.

Dio.

Dem. Phil. II. Philost. Apollon. vit. VII. 4.

Dio.

He exercised it in cool blood,

Cruelty in him was not the effect of passion, or of any sudden start of anger, but the result of cool

* Nero tamen subtraxit oculos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit. Præcipua sub Domitiano miserarium pars erat videre et adspici. *Tac. Agr.* 45.

cool reflection; for his subjects had never more to fear from him than when he affected to appear most mild and merciful. Having resolved to have a comptroller of his household crucified, he ordered the unhappy man to attend him in his chamber, forced him to sit down by his side, and, after sending him away quite pleased and happy, making him even take with him a dish designed for his own table, the very next day he ordered him to be executed. and with the most refined dissimulation. Suet. Dom. 11.

Arretinus Clemens, a man of consular dignity, had always been a favourite with him, even in the time of Vespasian, to whom he was related. Domitian continued a long time to load him with favours, and even employed him in the execution of his tyrannical designs, as a person in whom he could confide. At last, however, he took a dislike to him, on what account history does not say. All we know is, that it was usual with him to punish his agents for the very crimes he had forced them to commit, thinking thereby to exculpate himself, and make all the odium of the violences, in which they were only his instruments, fall on them. This was probably what made him resolve the ruin of Clemens; to effect which, he privately set on foot an accusation against him, furnishing the accusers and witnesses with proper memorials and instructions, as he generally did on such occasions. While the plot was carrying on, Domitian seemed fonder than ever of the man whose death he was then meditating. Such was his dissimulation, that being one day in the same litter with Clemens, and seeing his accuser pass by, 'Shall we give that vile 'slave audience to morrow?' said Domitian to him. Clemens was tried the next day, and condemned to die. Tac. Hist. iv. 68. Suet. Dio. ap. Val. Dio. Suet.

He took a pleasure in adding insult to cruelty, never passing sentence of death on any till after he had protested how much he was inclined to mercy. One day when some who were charged with pre-

tended crimes of high treason were to be tried before the senate, Domitian began with telling the members that he should judge by their behaviour on that occasion how far they really loved him. This was bidding them proceed with the utmost rigour. Accordingly, the accused were condemned to suffer the punishment ordained by the ancient laws, which was, first to be whipped and then beheaded. Domitian was highly pleased with the senate's implicit obedience; but, at the same time, he feared lest so rigorous a punishment might make the people murmur and complain. To prevent this, he put on his mask of mildness, and harangued the senators in these words, according to Suetonius*. 'Give me leave, conscript fathers, to hope 'from your indulgence and request, what I am 'sensible you will not grant me without reluctance, 'that you will give the criminals leave to choose 'their kind of death. You will thereby avoid a 'sight disagreeable to yourselves, and all will per-'ceive that I was present among you.'

Regulation, desired by the senate in favour of senators, refused by Domitian. Dio. ap Val.

This specious appearance of moderation was, without doubt, what, before it was seen through, emboldened the senators to desire Domitian to pass an act to disable the emperor from putting any member of their body to death by virtue of his military power only. Titus had laid this down as an inviolable law, and his example was followed by all the good princes that succeeded him. Their regard for the senate induced them to desist from part of their prerogatives, and to leave to that august body the power of life and death over its own members. The consequence of this was, that a senator could very seldom be in danger of being condemned

* Permittite, P. C. à pietate vestra impetrari, quod scio me difficulter impetraturum, ut damnatis liberum mortis arbitrium indulgeatis. Nam et parcetis oculis vestris, et intelligent me omnes senatui interfuisse.

demned to die, because the old Roman laws, as I have often observed, ordained death for but very few crimes. Domitian was far from being disposed to weaken his own power out of deference to the senate, whom he hated; and though he well knew that he should still be always at liberty to do as he pleased, and that it was in itself a matter of indifference whether he ordered the death of a senator or made the senate order it, yet he would not by any means grant a privilege that gave him umbrage, nor suffer the least diminution even of the shadow of the power that made him terrible.

Several illustrious senators put to death by Domitian.

The weight of it was felt by a great number of illustrious senators, who were condemned for the meerest trifles; the most frivolous pretence sufficing to take away their lives, though they were in reality guilty of no other crime than being the unfortunate objects of a suspicious tyrant's jealousy. The reader will permit me to give a few instances.

Suet. Dom. 10. and 12. and Phil. Apollon. VII. 7.

Flavius Sabinus, his cousin-german, son-in-law to his brother, and his own colleague in the consulship, was, with all these titles, too distinguished not to irritate his cruel distrusts. Among other things, Domitian was piqued at seeing his cousin's servants wear white tunics like those belonging to the emperor. To complete Flavius's misfortune, when he was named consul, the herald, out of mere inadvertence, proclaimed him emperor instead of consul. Domitian was glad to catch at that opportunity to get rid of so near a relation, whom he hated, and looked upon as a rival. Sabinus's life paid the forfeit of the herald's mistake, in which he was quite innocent.

Suet. 10. and Dio.

Salvius Cocceianus, nephew to the emperor Otho, lost his life too only for giving an entertainment to commemorate his uncle's birth-day. The same fate befel Sallustius Lucullus, who commanded in Britain, for suffering a new kind of lances to be called after his name *Lucullian lances*.

Metius Pomposianus was born to be emperor, according to his horoscope. That idle conceit, which never hindered Vespasian from heaping favours upon Metius, was reputed, under Domitian, a crime deserving death. Some other frivolous circumstances, scarcely worth mentioning, helped to increase his mean and cowardly apprehensions. Metius had a set of maps of the world. He was fond of reading an extract he had made from Livy of various speeches of kings and generals, and used to call two of his slaves Mago and Hannibal. Though of consular dignity, these trifles cost Metius his life. Domitian first banished him to Corsica, and afterwards had him killed.

Ælius Lamia bore an illustrious name, and, what is more, Domitian had done him an injury in forcing away his wife at the very beginning of the authority he assumed in consequence of his father's elevation to the throne. Lamia, to be revenged, would often be sarcastically severe upon him. Domitian praising him one day for his fine voice, 'You 'ought rather to praise my silence,' replied Lamia. Titus exhorting the same Lamia to marry again, 'What! do you want a wife too?' replied he. These jokes were not lost on Domitian, who took care to remember them, and, when emperor, put Lamia to death.

Suetonius does not say what kinds of death were
Dio. inflicted on those I have been speaking of; but we learn from another author that Domitian did not always employ the dagger, and other common ways, but often had recourse to poison. He chose, on many occasions, to conceal his bloody violences as
Dio. ap. Val. much as he could. Sometimes he banished those he doomed to die, that, by murdering them at a distance, their tragical ends might make the less noise in Rome. At other times he managed so as to make them kill themselves, and then pretended that it was their own voluntary deed.

His

His insatiable vengeance extended even to the lower class of people; nor was the age or station of any a safeguard against it. He had reason to hate the pantomime Paris, whom the empress his wife was desperately in love with. We cannot therefore be surprised at his causing that insolent player to be assassinated in the open street. Had he stopped there, it had been well enough. Paris was the idol of the people, whom he diverted, and some of whom were imprudent enough to strew perfumes and flowers over the place where he was killed. Domitian soon sent them to keep company with him they so much regretted. His hatred extended even to a pupil of the pantomime, who happened unfortunately to resemble his master both in person and action. Domitian was not ashamed to send some of his blood-hounds to kill that child, for such he was, being under fourteen, and at that very time sick. A man of letters, author of a history, in which he had made use of some ambiguous expressions, some of those ingenious turns which, without directly saying, give one to understand what is meant, was brought before him to be judged. Sentence of death was passed on the author, and those who had transcribed and sold the book were condemned to be crucified. Maternus *, whom Dion

Even the common people not exempt from his vengeance. Suet. 3. and 10. and Dio.

Suet.

* This Maternus was, perhaps, the same who espouses the cause of poets and of poetry, in a dialogue written in Vespasian's reign, and generally printed at the end of Tacitus's works. The epithet of sophist does not indeed suit him; but I lay little stress on Dion Cassius's exactness, and cannot but be struck with the resemblance of the two characters. The Maternus of the dialogue of orators wrote a tragedy, of which Cato was the hero, with such boldness, that the nice ears of the great and powerful were offended at it. His friends advised him to soften some expressions, and strike out others, to which he replied: 'The public shall have my play as it is; and if Cato has omitted 'any thing, Thyestes, whom I am now about, shall speak for him.' Quòd si quæ omisit Cato, sequenti tractatione Thyestes dicet. *Dial. de Orat. n. 3.*

Cassius calls a sophist, likewise paid with his life some bold expressions which escaped him in one of his declamations against tyrants. A poor citizen who was seeing the gladiators fight paid dear for attempting to be witty. The gladiators were divided into classes, and, like the factious in the circus, had each of them their partisans. Domitian patronised the class called *Mirmillons*, and the man I am speaking of was for the class called *Thracians*. 'The *Thracian*,' said he, 'may cope 'with the *Mirmillon*; but he never will be able 'to resist the power of him that protects his ad-'versary.' Domitian hearing this, ordered the poor fellow to be seized, and immediately exposed to a set of furious mastiffs, with a label fastened to him, on which was written, *Impious abettor of Thracians.*

Lips. Saturn. II. 24.

Pliny, alluding to this, and probably several other actions of the same kind, unfolds what then passed in Domitian's breast, and exclaims against the absurdity of so shocking a barbarity in these words*: 'How mad must he have been, and how 'ignorant of what true honour consists in! He who 'could ransack even the stage for treasonable 'crimes, and thought every want of respect to-'wards his gladiators an affront to him and his 'divinity; who equalled himself to the gods, and 'put his gladiators on a level with himself!'

Plin. Pan. 33.

Domitian was so excessively fond of cruelty, that he imagined † the punishing of a vestal according to the ancient laws, that is to say, burying her alive, would greatly illustrate his reign. He had already

Cornelia, a vestal, buried alive. Suet. Dom. 2. Plin. Ep. IV. 11.

* Demens ille, verique honoris ignarus, qui crimina majestatis in arena colligebat, ac se despici et contemni, nisi etiam gladiatores ejus veneraremur, sibi maledici in illis, suam divinitatem, suum numen violari interpretabatur; quum se idem quod deos, idem gladiatores quod se putaret. *Plin.*

† Ut qui illustrari seculum suum ejusmodi exemplis arbitraretur. *Plin.*

already compelled three to kill themselves. But such deaths were grown too common to satisfy him; he wanted something extraordinary and more striking. To this end he pitched upon Cornelia, chief of the vestals, who had formerly been accused of incontinence, but was acquitted, and who now, guilty or innocent, fell a sacrifice to him. Domitian presided at her trial as sovereign pontiff, and insisted on her suffering the utmost rigour of the old laws.

Though it was in his power to have her buried alive, he could not make people think her guilty. She persisted in her innocence to the last moment; and, as she was descending into the fatal pit, her garment chancing to catch hold of something, she turned round with all the decency imaginable, unloosed it, and drew it over her with such care as gave every one present a high idea of her virtue and modesty. The executioner offering his hand to help her down, she rejected his assistance with scorn and indignation, as if she should have thought herself dishonoured by his touch.

These circumstances made every one think Cornelia's punishment an act of downright tyranny, and not of justice. What confirmed them in this opinion was, that Celer, a Roman knight, who was tried and condemned as her accomplice and seducer, denied the fact with his last breath, still crying out, 'What am I punished for? I have 'done nothing;' till he expired under the lash of the executioner. Dion Cassius says many others were involved in the same accusation, and tortured so cruelly, that Helvius Agrippa, one of the pontiffs, unable to bear the sight, fainted away and died on the spot. Every body murmured; Domitian was detested; and, as much as he had been used to make light of what the public thought, this affair was so odious, that he could not help being Dio. Plin

ing

ing troubled and disconcerted, neither knowing what turn to give it, nor what to do.

At last, however, he thought of Valerius Licinianus, an ancient prætor, and one of the most famous advocates in Rome, who had sheltered a freedwoman of Cornelia's in his house in the country; and resolved to throw the blame on him. Licinianus was indicted, and at the same time privately given to understand, that his only way to avoid the punishment of being whipped to death, was to plead guilty. He did so; and Herennius Senecio, who was to plead for him, waited on the emperor, to whom he said, 'Instead of coming as 'an advocate for Licinianus, I am only the bearer 'of his confession; he owns himself guilty of the 'accusation laid to his charge.' Domitian was so delighted, that his very joy betrayed him; for he could not help crying out with rapture, 'Licinia-'nus has justified us:' adding, that it was but just to show some indulgence to a criminal who had yet so much sense of shame left, and not to make him undergo the disagreeable ceremonial of a trial in form. He was allowed to save what he could of his effects before they were confiscated, and was banished for his reward.

Thus ended this affair, in which, if the vestal's innocence be not fully proved, at least Domitian's cruelty is as evident as can be.

The reader will give me leave to add what Pliny says further of Licinianus's fate. He was not recalled as other banished men were after Domitian's death, but obtained Nerva's leave to go to Sicily. He set up a school of rhetoric there, and opened his first lectures with a preliminary discourse, in which, complaining of Fortune, he addressed her thus*: 'Fickle goddess, how capricious are thy 'sports!

* Quæ tibi, fortuna, ludos facis! Facis enim ex professoribus emtores, ex senatoribus professores.

'sports! to make professors out of senators, and 'senators out of professors.' He lived and taught under Trajan.

To return to Domitian, whose cruelties two men of note did, however, escape by their supple readiness to comply with whatever was required of them. Pegasus*, a great civilian, prefect of the city, styled by Juvenal a man of strict honour, and a virtuous interpreter of the laws, could bend upon occasion, and wrest the sword from the hand of justice ready to punish guilt. Vibius Crispus was a merry old man, of an easy temper, and as easy in his actions. He was very capable of giving his emperor good advice, provided there had been no danger in so doing. He was not one of those that will attempt to stem a torrent, nor so enamoured of liberty as to be ready to sacrifice his life for what is right and just. By this means he lived to the age of fourscore, unmolested in the court of a prince with whom a conversation about the weather, or any other such trifling matter, was often what decided the fate of even a friend.

Pegasus and Vibius Crispus escape Domitian's cruelty by their great obsequiousness.

Domitian was not less extreme in his debauches, than in his cruelty; both which vices he would often

His debauches.

* Pegasus
Interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia quanquam
Temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
Justitiâ. Venit et Crispi jucunda senectus,
Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
Ingenium. Maria ac terras, populosque regenti
Quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa,
Sævitiam damnare, et honestum afferre liceret
Consilium? Sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
Cum quo de pluviis, aut æstibus, aut nimboso
Vere locuturi fatum pendebant amici?
Ille igitur nunquam direxit brachia contra
Torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset
Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero.
Sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit
Solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
JUVEN. Sat. IV.

His incestuous commerce with his niece, whose death he is the cause of. Suet. Dom. 22.

often link together. His abominable behaviour to his brother's daughter Julia is a flagrant instance of it. When he first thought of marrying, she was proposed to him for a wife; but he was then so deeply smitten with Domitia, that he would not hear of it by any means. Julia afterwards married her cousin Flavius Sabinus, and Domitian debauched her in Titus's lifetime. In short, when both her father and husband were dead, he no longer made a secret of his incestuous love for his niece; and yet was the cause of her death, by compelling her to procure an abortion.

Suet. Dom. 1. and 22.

Julia is but a single instance of Domitian's incontinence. No kind of debauchery could be thought of into which he did not plunge headlong. He prided himself on having begun that life when very young; and, though emperor, would still seek for pleasure among the most abandoned women he could find, the wretched victims of public prostitution.

He was less intemperate with regard to his table, but arrogant, sullen, and unsociable.

His intemperance was not so great with respect to his table. Dinner was his chief meal, contrary to the general custom of the Romans; and at night he took nothing but a little fruit with a glass of wine. He gave, however, very elegant suppers to the principal senators, and would sit down with them a few moments, perhaps taste something, but never much, and the company always broke up before sun-set; after which Domitian walked till bed-time in one of the galleries of his palace, but would not suffer any body to be with him. This was owing to his arrogant, sullen, and morose temper, which rendered him not only insensible of the charms of virtue, but an obstinate enemy to all society.

His vanity makes him think of shining in war.

Such was Domitian in time of peace, in his private conduct, and the government of the state, so far as related to him at home. His vanity made him think he should shine in war. We have already

dy seen how forward he was to try his skill that way the moment his father was made emperor; and what difficulty Mucian had to keep him within bounds. I hinted, too, how very desirous he was to have Vespasian send him at the head of an army, to assist Vologeses king of Parthia against the Alans. He was no sooner emperor than he resolved to satisfy his longing desire, so often disappointed; and accordingly, in the third year of his reign, he undertook, without the least necessity, an expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany, of whom we have already made frequent mention.

His expedition against the Catti, for which he triumphs without having even seen the enemy. Fron. Strat. l. 1. Dio. Zonar. Tac. Agr. 39.

Frontinus, who wrote his book of stratagems whilst Domitian was yet alive, extols highly the wisdom and vigour with which this war was carried on. The Germans, says he, were in arms; and Domitian, who wanted to surprise them, and was sensible they would still make greater preparatives, if they could foresee that they were to have so skilful a commander to deal with, hid his real design under a feigned pretence of numbering the Gauls. His stratagem succeeded; the Germans were attacked unawares, and Domitian, continues Frontinus, humbled the pride of those barbarians, and secured tranquillity to the provinces of the empire.

But, according to other writers, who had no interest to flatter Domitian, and whose account is probably more consistent with truth, he returned without so much as having seen the enemy. His exploits consisted in laying waste a country beyond the Rhine, possessed by friends; for which he caused the greatest honours to be decreed him, and resolved to triumph. Prisoners were indeed wanting to be led in chains before his car, and of these he had not one. However, he soon got over that difficulty, by ordering a sufficient number of slaves to be purchased in the neighbouring countries, and their hair to be dressed, and clothes made, after the German

German fashion. With the help of this wretched expedient, he made shift to furnish out a triumph, which tickled his vanity, though he knew at the same time that every body must laugh at him for it. It was probably on the same occasion that he took the surname of Germanicus, unless he assumed it sooner for his journey to Lyons in the first year of his father's reign, during the war with Civilis. M. de Tillemont thinks it was in the year of Christ
A. R. 834. 83 that Domitian gained his pretended victory over the Catti, and that he triumphed in that or the following year.

The Cherusci conquered by the Catti. Dio.

The melancholy fate of Cariomer king of the Cherusci, who, being stripped of his dominions by the Catti, in vain implored assistance from Rome, receiving only a sum of money instead of the troops he wanted, seems to have happened about this time. The Cherusci, who had made so great a figure among the Germans when headed by their hero Arminius, were not able to lift up their heads after this disaster, for which their own degenerate effeminacy paved the way. Too long a peace, says Tacitus*, had lulled them asleep; but they found that sleep more pleasant than secure. To be inactive amidst powerful and ambitious neighbours, never can be safe. The victor always has most honour, honesty, and moderation, on his side. So, continues our historian, the Cherusci, formerly styled a brave people, and friends to virtue and equity, are now called a pack of foolish cowards. The victory of the Catti has made them be reputed wise.

The

* Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt. Idque jucundius quàm tutius fuit; quia inter impotentes et validos falsò quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni æquique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur; Cattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. *Tac. Germ.* 36.

The same fragment of Dion Cassius, from which we have borrowed what relates to Cariomer, makes mention of a pretended prophetess called Ganna, who gave out oracles among the Germans, like Veleda, and was, like her, a virgin. She took a journey to Rome, where Domitian paid her extraordinary honours. Ganna, a pretended prophetess.

The people bordering on the Danube were not quiet. Some of them had taken up arms, but which, or why, we are at a loss to say. Their insurrection was, however, the forerunner of the Dacian war, the greatest of any in which Domitian thought proper to take a personal concern. Dacian war. Dio.

The Daci, whom the Greeks called Gæti, inhabited the regions situate between the Danube on the south and east, the mountains Crapax on the north, and the Teissa on the west. It is the country now called Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, together with part of Hungary. Antiquity represents them as a very warlike people, and that spirit was kept up in them by two things; first, their hard way of life, for they were poor, laborious, and entire strangers to what we call the pleasures of life; and, secondly, a belief which prevailed among them, that death was only a passage from hence to another place, where they were to meet Zamolxis, who, after being their legislator, was become their god. So strongly did this persuasion influence them, that they went to death with more alacrity than others set out upon a party of pleasure. Cellar. Geo. Ant. Juliani Cæs.

Hitherto I have said but little of the Dacians, because they never attempted to war against the Romans before as principals, and with their own forces only, but were always associated and mixed with their neighbours, the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and inhabitants of Mœsia. Accordingly, they were of the number of the people whom Crassus conquered in the year of Rome 723, and Tiberius gained great

great advantages over them, whilst his brother Drusus was fighting the Germans. After that, in the great war in which Tiberius subdued Pannonia, the Dacians sustained such vast losses, and were so weakened, that, instead of being able to bring two hundred thousand fighting men into the field, which they could do before, their whole strength was reduced to forty thousand able to bear arms. At the time when Strabo wrote, almost all Dacia was subject to the Romans, and what little liberty that nation had then left was owing to the diversions caused by other German people. No more mention is made of the Dacians till the beginning of the war between Vespasian and Vitellius. The legions which had used to defend Mœsia being then drawn out of it, the Dacians entered that country sword in hand, and their invasion might have been attended with very bad consequences, if the dispute between the two rivals for empire had not been speedily ended, as it was by the battle of Cremona. Mucian gave them such an overthrow as forced them to retire, and they remained quiet during the reigns of Vespasian and of Titus. Under that of Domitian they took arms again, either provoked by his injustices, or encouraged so to do by the contempt in which they held him for his cowardice.

Stra. l. VII. p. 305.

They were at this time governed by Decebalus, a prince of great merit, equally fit for counsel and for war; who knew when it was proper to attack, and when to retreat; how to lay snares for his enemy, and how to oppose him openly in the field; how to make the most of victory, and how still to preserve resources after a defeat. He was indebted to his great talents for the crown he wore. Duras, to whom it of right belonged, from a most uncommon principle of modesty and forbearance, renounced the supreme command in favour of Decebalus, as one more capable of governing the nation well, and more able to maintain its honour. Decebalus, longing

Dio.

Dio. ap. Val.

ging to answer the high idea his countrymen had conceived of him, laid hold of an opportunity which * a quarrel between some nations bordering on the Danube furnished him with. The weakest of these people having implored and obtained the protection of the emperor of the Romans, the king of Dacia espoused the opposite party. He crossed the Danube, entered Mæsia, and coming up with Oppius Sabinus, who commanded the legions in that province, gave him battle, conquered and killed him; after which he overran the whole country, and took several forts and castles from the Romans. Dio. Suet. Dom. 6.

Sabinus's disgrace determined Domitian to march in person against the Dacians, or rather to transport himself into their neighbourhood; for he stopped in a city of Mæsia, and left the whole management of the war to his lieutenants. We know nothing more of Domitian's expedition on this occasion; and, indeed, all the account we have of the Dacian war in general is very obscure and uncertain. We cannot tell exactly when it began, how long it lasted, nor when it ended; and as to particular events, we have no other guide than some fragments of Dion Cassius, a few abbreviators void of taste and judgment, and here and there an expression in the poets of those days. M. de Tillemont has made the most of them that can be done, and I must beg leave to copy him. Dio. ap. Vales.

Besides the defeat already mentioned, the Romans suffered another very bloody one in this war. Whilst Domitian, who returned to Rome, was revenging himself on the senate for his bad success against the enemies of the empire, Cornelius Fuscus, the pretorian prefect, commanded the legions Tille. Dom. art. 12.

* I own that I have no authority for this connexion between the quarrels here spoken of and the Dacian war. It is only my conjecture, founded on the circumstance of times and places.

that were to oppose the Daci. He was a hot-headed impetuous man, as the reader must have observed by the warmth with which he espoused Vespasian's cause against Vitellius. He had no capacity for war, nor the least experience in it; and, if we may credit Juvenal*, never studied that art but in his marble palace. When at the head of a flourishing army, he could no longer restrain his ardour, but crossed the Danube, and fought a battle in which he and most of his troops were killed. The Romans were entirely defeated, and forced to leave their arms and baggage in the enemy's power, together with one of their eagles, and a great number of prisoners.

Domitian thereupon resolved to visit that country again. He had no cause to repent his journey; for Julian, to whom he gave the command of the army, gained a victory over Decebalus. Dion Cassius says, that Julian, in order to know with certainty which of his men behaved well, and which ill, ordered every soldier to write his own and his captain's name upon his shield. The Dacians were totally defeated, and Vezinas, who was reputed the second man in the nation, was forced to hide himself under the heaps of slain to save his life.

Decebalus was greatly afraid of the consequences of this victory, which laid his whole country and capital open to the enemy. He removed them, however, by a stratagem, which it is astonishing the Romans should have been the dupes of. The capital of the Dacians was covered by a wood. Decebalus ordered his men to lop off the tops of the trees, and hang upon them pieces of armour, which being seen from afar, the Romans concluded that the city was defended by another army, and retreated.

The

* Fuscus marmoreâ meditatus prælia villâ.
Juv. Sat. iv. ver. 112.

The danger was only deferred; and Decebalus, as wise and prudent in adversity as he was bold and enterprising in prosperity, was sensible of the necessity of a peace. Accordingly he made overtures, not in the haughty style he had used before when he insisted on settling the conditions himself, and that every Roman should pay him a tribute of so much a head; but rather seemed to ask it as a favour, saying, that he desired nothing but what was just and equitable. Domitian had then the finest opportunity that could be wished for to put a glorious end to the war; but his pride and obstinacy made him lose it. He rejected Decebalus's offer; and at the same time, instead of pressing harder upon him, and pursuing his advantage, he turned all his forces against the Quadi and Marcomanni, two German nations whom he wanted to pick a quarrel with, because they had not sent him succours against the Dacians. He behaved in this new expedition with all the pride and arrogance that a man intoxicated with success can possibly show. He would not hear of submission from the Germans on any terms, but killed their embassadors. The event was, that they conquered him; and then he was glad, not only to make peace with Decebalus, but to purchase it from him at a vast expense in ready money; besides which, he engaged to pay him yearly a real tribute, though indeed payment of it never was demanded; and, contrary to the interests of the empire, to furnish him with a certain number of workmen versed in every art.

Domitian concludes a shameful peace with Decebalus king of the Dacians.

Domitian * seems to have been at Rome while this peace was negotiating. Overwhelmed with real shame, he strove to put a gloss upon it, and to save appearances. To this end, he wanted Decebalus to come to Rome, and pay homage to

* So one of Martial's epigrams, which speaks of Degys's homage, seems to intimate, Lib. V. ep. 33.

him in the capital of the empire. But the haughty Dacian rejected the proposal, and only sent his brother Degys, who delivered Domitian a few arms and prisoners, and in return received the diadem from him in the name of the king of Dacia. A letter too from Decebalus, couched in very submissive terms, was read to the senate; but all very justly concluded it forged by Domitian, with a view to impose upon them.

Domitian triumphs.

After such noble exploits, Domitian could not do less than proclaim himself conqueror. He took the surname of *Dacicus*, had a triumph decreed him, and in fact did triumph over the Dacians and Germans. These Germans could be no other than the Quadi and Marcomanni, by whom, instead of conquering them, he was himself defeated. Nothing was spared to celebrate these glorious victories; games, shows, triumphal arches, statues without number, and fulsome encomiums from the poets, were lavished on him. Another trophy was a monument built for Fuscus in the country of the Dacians, where he was killed. The temple of Janus was closed to commemorate the peace thus restored to the empire. A deal of show and ostentation was indeed requisite to set off what in itself deserved the greatest contempt.

Strat. Sylv. IV. 1.

His sluggish effeminacy. Suet. Dom. 19. Plin. Pan. 83.

To Domitian's bad success in war must yet be added the reproach of his own despicable behaviour. Nothing could be so sluggishly effeminate. He was hardly ever seen on horseback, but was almost always carried in a litter. If he travelled by water, the noise of the oars disturbed and displeased him; to avoid which, he ordered the galley where he lay indolently extended on a couch to be drawn by other gallies in which the rowers were. In this manner it was that he travelled down * the Rhine

* Danubius ac Rhenus tantum illud nostri dedecoris vehere gaudebant, non minore cum pudore imperii, quòd hæc Ro-

Rhine or Danube, in sight, says Pliny, not only of the Roman eagles, but even of the enemy, who made nothing of swimming across those great rivers, or, if they were frozen over, thought them a good and easy road.

All military discipline enervated. Plin. VIII. Ep. 14. and Pan. 18.

The prince's example could not fail to corrupt all discipline among the troops, and his jealous suspicions destroyed it entirely. Looking upon his subjects as so many enemies, because he was himself a scourge and an enemy to them, he was afraid to trust any man; and for that reason never gave his generals full power to act. The consequence of this was *, that the officer had not authority enough to make the soldier respect and obey him; whence ensued a general spirit of licentiousness, disorder, and confusion, throughout all the troops. The generals, perpetually in dread of the court, were less afraid of the enemy's snares than of those of the emperor, with whom all merit was suspected, and whose good graces were not to be won but at the expense of honour, courage, and every noble sentiment. Armies so governed might well be worsted by the enemy; and yet Domitian, who was the author of the evil, made his generals answer for whatever went amiss, and, if they had success, assumed all the honour to himself.

The people vexed and harassed. Plin. Pan. 20.

Dreaded and detested, as he justly was, by every man of distinction in the state, he drew upon him the hatred of the common people too by his odious † vexations of them wherever he went. He

manæ aquilæ, Romana signa, Romana denique ripa, quam quod hostium prospectaret; hostium quibus moris est eadem illa nunc regentia gelu flumina, aut campis superfusa, nunc liquida et deferentia lustrare navigiis, nandoque superare. *Plin.*

* Nos juvenes fuimus quidem in castris, sed quum suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio; quum ducibus auctoritas nulla, nulla militibus verecundia, nusquam imperium, nusquam obsequium; omnia soluta, turbata, atque etiam in contrarium versa. *Plin. ep.* 14. *l.* viii.

† Quam dissimilis nuper alterius principis transitus, si tamen

did not travel, but rather made incursions to plunder and lay waste; for he left the countries he passed through as bare and naked as if a hurricane had destroyed them, or as if they had been visited by those very barbarians before whom Domitian fled like a coward.

Thus did he carry with him, wheresoever he went, that spirit of tyranny and malevolence which was his prevailing vice. He gave such a specimen of it in the feasts and rejoicings for his triumph over the Dacians, as none but the most savage of men could have thought of, or have taken the least delight in.

Frightful entertainment given by Domitia to the chief citizens of Rome. Dio.

Domitian invited the heads of the senate and order of knights to an entertainment which he was to give them. They went, and were shown into a large room hung with black from top to bottom, not excepting the very ceiling and floor. The coverings were taken away from all the couches, and they too were painted black. When the guests were seated, every man found before him a small pillar, such as the Romans used to erect upon their tombs. On this pillar was written the name of the person who sat next to it, and a sepulchral lamp stood burning upon it. Not a man was allowed to take his own servants in to wait on him; but instead of them appeared a troop of little boys, blacked from head to foot, to make them look like infernal spirits. These young devils, surrounding the table, danced mournfully, and with many dismal signs; after which each went to his post behind the guest he was to wait on. The victuals that were served up were exactly the same as it was the custom to offer to the dead in funeral ceremonies. The dishes

transitus ille non populatio fuit, quum abactus hospitum exerceret, omniaque dextra lævâque perusta et attrita, ut si vis aliqua, vel illi ipsi barbari, quos fugiebat, inciderent. *Plin. Pan.* 20.

dishes were all black, and so was every piece of plate and thing made use of. Silence, as deep as that of the grave, reigned throughout the whole assembly. Domitian only spoke, telling his company frightful stories of bloody deaths and tragical ends. One may conceive, more readily than words can express, how great must be the dread and terror of every one present at the sight of such an entertainment, prepared by such a prince. Every man concluded that his last hour was come. At length Domitian dismissed them, but without their servants. These last were delivered over to persons unknown, who put them in different carriages, and set them down at their own doors. They began to breathe when a messenger arrived from the emperor, as each concluded, with orders for him to die. The farce ended there. The messenger brought them all presents from the emperor, consisting of what had been made use of at the entertainment; to some he sent one of the little pillars, which, when the black was taken off, proved to be silver; to others a piece of plate of curious workmanship; and each present was accompanied with one of the little boys that waited on the guests, elegantly dressed, and restored to his natural complexion. Those to whom the presents were made, thought them dearly paid for by the uneasiness they had suffered; and the public made a joke of it, saying, that it looked as if Domitian had calculated the whole ceremony to appease the manes of those whose deaths he had been the cause of by his cowardice and bad conduct in the Dacian war, and by his cruelties in Rome.

I have already observed, that it is impossible to fix with certainty the dates of what happened in the Dacian war, which must have been between the years of Christ * 86 and 91. It cannot have begun sooner, nor ended later, and in all probability it lasted the greater part of that time.

* 837 and 842 of Rome.

Before we enter upon Agricola's exploits in Britain, concerning which we have much to say, and which, we hope, will be no unpleasing transition to our readers, the actions of that great and good man being so many proofs of his superior talents and high degree of virtue, we will just take notice of two less important wars.

The Nasamons destroyed. Zonar.

The Nasamons, inhabitants of Lybia beyond the Syrtes, unable to bear the extreme rigour with which they were compelled to pay their tributes and taxes, rose and killed the collectors and receivers of them. Flaccus, governor of Numidia, marched a body of troops into their country to chastise them, but met with so total a defeat that the enemy got possession of his camp. This first success was the ruin of the Nasamons, for they immediately got drunk with the wine of which they found plenty in the Roman camp. Flaccus, being informed of it, returned with what troops he had left, surprised them in that condition, and killed every one of them. Domitian was so proud of this victory, that he arrogantly said in full senate, 'It 'was my pleasure that the Nasamons should cease 'to be, and they are no longer.' This was in the year of Christ 86, according to M. de Tillemont.

Domitian's expedition against the Sarmatians. Suet. Dom. 6.

Domitian's expedition against the Sarmatians was several years later. The learned are agreed that it was posterior to the end of the Dacian war, and doubt only whether it was in the year 92 or 93 of Christ that it took place. The Sarmatians had cut to pieces one of the Roman legions, with its commander. Domitian thought this affront such as deserved his going in person to revenge it. His exploits cannot have been very great, since he did not think them worthy the honours of a triumph, and was content, on his return to Rome, with only carrying a branch of laurel in pompous ceremony

to

to the capitol, where he offered it to Jupiter Capitolinus.

I must not omit taking notice of a pretended Nero, who was very near involving the Romans in a war with Parthia. Though the trick was stale, this being the third impostor of that kind, he met with a favourable reception from the king of Parthia, who was not prevailed on without great difficulty to give him up to the Romans. M. de Tillemont is of opinion that this affair, in which not a sword was drawn, is, in all probability, the subject of the triumphs which Silius Italicus ascribes to Domitian over the Bactrians, the Ganges, and all the East. Suetonius dates it in the twentieth year after Nero's death, which answers to the year of Rome 839, and of Christ 88.

Pretended Nero. Suet. Ner. 57. Tac. Hist. 1. 2.

Sil. Ital. III. v. 612.

Nor can I help taking notice of a new kind of assassination, by which Rome and the whole empire suffered greatly. A gang of wicked wretches went about armed with poisoned needles, with which they pricked great numbers, who died of the wound. Several of these murderers were detected, and suffered the death they deserved.

People murdered with poisoned needles. Dio.

We come now to Agricola, whose life is written by his son in-law Tacitus, from whom I shall borrow almost the whole of that valuable performance; the last assistance that great and sublime historian will afford me in this work.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Agricola known to us only by Tacitus's writings. His birth. His education. His first campaigns under Suetonius Paulinus in Britain. His marriage and first honours. He is employed by Galba. He takes little share in the civil wars. Mucian sends him to command the twentieth legion in Britain. Vespasian creates him a patrician, and gives him the government of Aquitania. He makes him consul, and gives him the command of the army in Britain. Account of what passed in Britain from the time of Suetonius Paulinus's leaving it. Agricola's first campaign in Britain. His modesty after very brilliant successes. His prudent conduct in his government. Agricola's second campaign. He endeavours to civilize the conquered people, in order to make them more pliant to servitude. Agricola's third campaign. Fourth campaign. Fifth campaign. Sixth campaign. Seventh campaign. Great preparations of the Caledonians. Speech of their general Galgacus. Agricola's speech to his army. Battle. The Romans conquer. Agricola's fleet sails north round the island. Memorable adventure of a cohort of Germans. Domitian jealous of Agricola's honours. He recals him, decreeing him the ornaments of triumph. Agricola's modest behaviour. Agricola's death. Noble and tender sentiments of Tacitus on the occasion of the death of his father-in-law.

Agricola known to us only by Tacitus's writings.

AGRICOLA would scarcely be known at all to us, if Tacitus had not written his life. All that we could gather concerning so great a man would be from a few lines very inexact, and still less interesting, of the abbreviator of Dion Cassius. Thanks to the illustrious writer, his son-in-law, we are fully informed of all that concerns him. We are enabled

enabled to follow him from his infancy, and find in him a model worthy the imitation of every rank of men, and particularly of warriors.

His birth. Tac. Agr. 4.

His name was Cneius Julius Agricola. The name of Julius was grown very common among the Romans since the elevation of the Cæsars; so that we are not to imagine that Agricola was related to the Julian family because he bore the name of Julius. Though his extraction was not noble, he had no reason to blush at it. He was a descendant of the colony of Frejus, and his grandfathers on both sides were intendants of the emperor, an employment which proves nothing more than that they were Roman knights. His father, Julius Græcinus, was a senator, and highly esteemed for his strict virtue, of which we have given instances under Caligula, by whom he was put to death.

His education.

Agricola had not the advantage of learning much from so virtuous a father, having the misfortune to lose him soon after he was born, which was on the thirteenth of June, in the year of Rome 789, in Caius's * second consulship. But he had the happiness of being brought up by his mother, a lady of great merit, who took uncommon care of his education, and had him instructed in all the liberal arts. She carried him †, when a child, to Marseilles, the Athens of Gaul, where a happy mixture of the Grecian politeness and provincial modesty reigned, untainted with the dissolute corruption of Rome. The spirit of ancient simplicity which prevailed

* The text of Tacitus (Agr. 44.) says, Agricola was born in Caius's third consulship, and that he died in his fifty-sixth year, Collega and Priscus being consuls. Those two dates do not agree, for they include a space of no more than fifty-four years; consequently one or other of them is wrong. I suppose the error to be in the date of his birth.

† Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam quòd statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerat, locum Græcâ comitate et provinciali parsimoniâ mistum ac bene compositum.

vailed in that city, proved a happy encouragement to young Agricola's natural turn to good, and preserved him from the alluring snares which too often seduce and corrupt young minds; that being the time when we are most fond of pleasure.

He* applied himself to philosophy, with all the ardour with which so fine a study is capable of inspiring a great and elevated soul. His mother thought he took too much delight in a science more suited to the leisure of the Greeks, than to the active life of a Roman destined to be a senator. The abuse which several professors of that science then made of it, and the too great lengths to which they carried their maxims, was doubtless what alarmed the judicious mother. Her remonstrances were a check upon her son, and reason and reflection soon moderated his too great eagerness. He learned by this study, and practised all his life, that lesson so essential to happiness, to be an enemy to all excess.

His first campaigns under Suetonius Paulinus in Britain.

He made his first campaigns in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus, whom we have often mentioned in the course of this work. That general, who was one of the greatest warriors Rome could then boast of, took Agricola under his immediate care, and, as was frequent among the Romans, kept him about his person in order to train and bring him up. Agricola soon deserved his commander's esteem. He

* Memoriâ teneo solitum ipsum narrare, se in prima juventâ studium philosophiæ† acriùs; et ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse; ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem excelsæ magnæque gloriæ vehementius quam cautè appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et ætas; retinuitque quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

† The editions of Tacitus have it, ac juris, ultra. So his commentators have thought to correct him; but in my opinion they are wrong, for the study of the law is not at all the thing in question here. I restore the old reading, with the addition only of the particle et.

He was made tribune of a legion, and, though invested with a considerable command in virtue of that post*, he was far from taking occasion from thence, as most of his comrades did, to be remiss in point of duty, or more licentious. The title of tribune did not serve him for an excuse, either to hide a shameful ignorance, or to be exempted from military labour, or to absent himself for the sake of pleasure. His profession became his study. To know the country, and make himself known to the army, was his chief aim. He consulted those who had more experience than himself, and always endeavoured to keep company with the best and bravest. Vanity never made him court danger rashly, nor did he ever decline it out of fear. An easy tranquil activity directed all his steps.

The reader may remember with what remarkable events Suetonius Paulinus's command in Britain was chequered; how great his victories were at first; how the provinces revolted afterwards; what loss the Romans sustained; and with what extreme difficulty the rebels were at last subdued. These vicissitudes were an excellent school for Agricola, and gave him an opportunity to display his talents; and though he had no greater share in them than what naturally falls to the lot of a subaltern officer, he gained experience; emulation and desire of honour warmed his breast; and he took such a liking to his profession † as was not calculated to please in the times he was destined to see; unhappy times, in which all extraordinary merit was liable to the most

See Vol. IV. B. XI.

* Nec Agricola licenter more juvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque signiter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatûs et inscitiam retulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere à peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere ob jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare.

† Intravitque animum militaris gloriæ cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala.

most malignant interpretations, and in which it was equally dangerous to have a great name as a bad one.

His marriage, and first honours.

On his return to Rome, to enter the lists of honour, he married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of noble birth, unsullied virtue, and every way fit to promote his views. They were extremely happy together; and their love, founded on mutual esteem, never suffered the least diminution.

When * questor, the department of Asia under the proconsul Salvius Titianus, brother to Otho, who was afterwards emperor, fell to his lot. All things seemed to conspire there to tempt him to be corrupt. The province was rich, and the proconsul a greedy covetous man, who would have been glad of a questor of his own way of thinking, and in return would readily have connived at whatever he might have done. Agricola's probity was not to be warped by any temptation.

His questorship being ended, he spent several years in a kind of† inaction; in which he did very wisely, so suspicious and cruel a prince as Nero being then upon the throne. Even the offices of tribune of the people and pretor, which he held, could not force him from the undisturbed obscurity he chose to live in. The tribunes had, indeed, but little to do under the emperors, who had possessed themselves of all their authority; nor had the pretors much more employment, unless it was the administering of justice in civil affairs. Even that did not fall to Agricola's share; his functions as pretor,

* Sors quæsturæ provinciam Asiam et proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est, quamvis et provincia dives et parata peccantibus, et proconsul, in omnem aviditatem pronus, quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali.

† Gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapien fuit.

pretor, consisting almost* entirely in regulating the games and shows that were to be given to the people. He acted with great prudence on all these occasions, carefully shunning the extremes of too great parsimony and too great prodigality.

He is employed by Galba.

Nero being dead, men of parts ventured to show themselves what they were, and Agricola was charged with a very nice commission by Galba, which was, to take an exact account of all offerings and gifts made to the temples, and to recover what had been purloined or misapplied. He acquitted himself perfectly well of this commission; and if he did not redress every wrong that had been done, it was owing to his want of power, which did not extend to Nero's sacrilegious rapines.

He takes little share in the civil war.

He does not seem to have been any way deeply concerned in the civil wars which distracted the empire after Galba's death. His mother having been killed in the very beginning of Otho's war, by the troops belonging to that emperor's fleet, at her house in Liguria, Agricola went thither to pay his last duties to her; and whilst he was busied in that, and in repairing the damages done his lands by the unruly soldiers, he learned Vespasian's elevation to the empire by the legions of the East, and immediately embraced his party, as most consistent with the public good. It is not, however, said that he joined the troops which fought for Vespasian; but, on the contrary, it seems rather probable, by Tacitus's account, that he went from Liguria directly to Rome, at the time when Mucian governed that city in the name of the emperor, who was not yet arrived there.

Mucian sends him to command the twentieth legion in Britain.

The first thing Mucian employed him in was to recruit the troops, in which he found him so faithful and active that he gave him a commission of more

* Ludos et inania honoris pro modo rationis atque abundantiæ duxit.

more importance, the command of the twentieth legion in Britain. The task was difficult; for it was not without great reluctance that this legion had been prevailed upon to swear allegeance to Vespasian. The soldiers of this legion were rough and headstrong, and made even the general of the whole army tremble; far from being tractable and obedient to their own particular commander, who, either from some bad intention, or out of weakness and want of resolution, or that his men were too unruly and mutinous for him to manage, was rather governed by them than they by him. Agricola was pitched upon to * remedy this evil, which he soon did, by the superiority of his genius and the uprightness of his views. What is still more extraordinary and more estimable is, that instead of aggravating his predecessor's faults, and claiming the hononr of having reduced the rebellious legion, he chose rather to have it thought that he found all in good order, than that that order was owing to his prudent management.

Vectius Bolanus, a man of too meek a temper, and too fond of peace for so fierce and warlike a people as those he was to keep in awe, was then general of the Roman army in Britain. Agricola †, who was under him, suited himself to his commander's inclinations; suppressed his martial ardour; pleased and obeyed; and willingly renounced what was only specious for that which was really useful.

Agricola had a much fairer field to display his talents in, under Petilius Cerialis, who succeeded Bolanus. That general, of whose vigour and activity we have had proofs in the war with Civilis the Batavian,

* Successor simul et ultor electus, rarissimâ moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos quàm fecisse.

† Temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit ne increscceret, peritus obsequi, et eruditus utilia honestis miscere.

Batavian, finding similar qualities in the commander of the twentieth legion, gave him frequent opportunities to distinguish himself. Agricola*, ever brave and modest, did great things without priding himself upon them, or pretending to assume the honour to himself. On the contrary, he ascribed it all to him whose orders he only executed, and by that means acquired a great name without envy.

Vespasian creates him a patrician, and gives him the government of Aquitania.

On his return to Rome, Vespasian rewarded his services by raising him to greater honours, and giving him an important post. He created him a patrician, and made him governor of Aquitania, which then comprehended, in consequence of Augustus's division of Gaul, the whole country between the river Loire and the Pyrenean mountains.

Aquitania was then at peace, and warlike talents were of no use there. The governor had little more to do than as a civil magistrate; a function for which a man, whose whole life had been spent in arms, could not be supposed to be much qualified. Tacitus† observes on this occasion, that many

* Nec Agricola unquam in suam famam gestis exultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundiâ in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.

† Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse; quia castrensis jurisdictio secura, et obtusior, ac plura manu agens, calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentiâ, quamvis inter togatos, facilè justèque agebat. Jam verò tempora curarum remissionumque divisa. Ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, ac sæpius misericors; ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultrà potestatis persona. Tristitiam, et arrogantiam, et avaritiam exuerat; nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui etiam sæpe boni indulgent ostentandâ virtute, aut per artem quæsivit. Procul ab æmulatione adversus collegas, procul à contentione adversùs procuratores. Et vincere inglorium, et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur.

are of opinion that military men have not that sagacity and quick penetration which the management of civil affairs requires; because, in their way, they are not so much used to mind forms, but often proceed by main force, and consequently are not accustomed to the subtleties of the bar. Though quite new in his employment, Agricola behaved to the admiration of all, his natural sense and prudence standing him in lieu of habit and experience. He administered justice with uncommon prudence and discernment, and without the least haughtiness or overbearing. He always paid a due regard to times and places. When seated on his tribunal, he was becomingly grave, attentive, and severe; though, at the same time, always inclined to mercy. When his functions of judge were ended, he laid aside the magistrate, and became again the mild and affable man. No haughty or ill-natured action could ever be laid to his charge; his temper was always the same, unruffled; nor did the easy access which he granted to all in the least diminish the respect due to his high rank, or his severity lessen the love the people bore him. To attempt to praise his integrity, says Tacitus, would be doing an injury to his accomplished merit. Even desire of glory, which men are apt to pursue too far, never led him into either the idle pomp of ostentation, or the mean artifices of vanity. He knew not what it was to be jealous of his equals, or to contest with his inferiors. The intendants of the Cæsars were very apt to thwart all governors of provinces. Agricola always avoided quarrelling with them; rightly judging that no honour can be gained by contending with inferiors, but that much may be lost if they chance to get the better.

He makes him consul,

Agricola had not been three years governor of Aquitania when Vespasian recalled him, and made him

him consul. He likewise gave him the dignity of pontiff, and, when his consulship was expired, appointed him commander-in-chief of the army in Britain, a country he was well acquainted with, having served there as tribune in his youth, and as commander of a legion in his riper years. The Britons were the only people the Romans were then at war with; so that, in sending him there, Vespasian gave him a high proof of his confidence and esteem.

and gives him the command of the army in Britain.

Tacitus fixes no dates to these events. I follow M. de Tillemont, who places Agricola's consulship under the year of Rome 828, and his journey to Britain the next year.

But few things of any great importance had passed in Britain since Suetonius Paulinus's exploits there, of which I have given an account in Nero's reign. His successor, Petronius Turpilianus, content with the conquests his predecessors had made, did not venture on any new enterprises.

Account of what passed in Britain, from the time of Suetonius Paulinus's leaving it.

Trebellius Maximus, who succeeded him, imitated his inaction. He was of an indolent disposition, and quite inexperienced in the art of war. All he aimed at was to preserve peace and quiet by the mildness of his adminstration. That peace soon made * the Britons acquainted with effeminacy, and taught them to have a relish for the seducing allurements of vice. The civil wars that ensued after the death of Nero gave a sanction to Trebellius's idleness, and furnished him with an excellent excuse. The only disturbance he met with was the difference that happened between him and his troops, of which I have spoken before; and at the same time I observed in what manner Trebellius saved his life at the expense of his honour, and was at last obliged to fly from Britain. Vitellius appointed Bolanus to succeed him.

* Didicêre jam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus.

Bolanus, honest indeed, but in other respects very like his predecessor, did not think a time of civil war and general confusion a proper season to attempt either to restore discipline, or harass the enemy. He therefore left things as he found them, and neither molested the Britons, nor interrupted the tranquillity of his own troops.

Petilius Cerialis, after putting a glorious end to the Batavian war, was sent to Britain by Vespasian, and finding the troops there much more ready to obey since the government of the empire was settled on a solid basis, he turned their activity against the enemy. He took great strides towards completing the design the Romans had long formed of conquering the whole island, and attacked the * Briganti, a numerous and warlike people, who still maintained their liberty, first infringed by the victories of Ostorius Scapula in the reign of Claudius. He spread the terror of the Roman arms around him, and subdued great part of the country.

Frontinus, a brave general, who was not only experienced in the art of war, but had made it his particular study, as appears by his book of stratagems, succeeded him. Frontinus maintained the glory of his predecessor, and totally subdued the Silures †, whose obstinate resistance Otsorius had never been able to surmount, and who had made the Romans sustain many a heavy loss. Agricola succeeded Frontinus, and arrived in Britain towards the middle of summer in the year of Rome 829.

Agricola's first campaign in Britain.

The advanced season, and the change of their general, made the Romans think the campaign as good as over. The Britons, perceiving it, resolved to take advantage of the enemy's security. Agrippa

* The Briganti inhabited the north of England, between the rivers Eden and Humber.

† The Silures dwelt between the Severn and the Irish sea.

Agrippa learned, upon his arrival, that the * Ordovici had just cut to pieces a regiment of horse which guarded their frontiers, and by that action had raised a ferment throughout the whole country, some openly applauding what they had done, and saying it was a noble example; whilst others, more circumspect, though they thought the same, waited to see what steps the new commander would take, in order to regulate theirs accordingly.

Agricola might have alleged many very plausible reasons for not taking the field that year. His troops depended on having nothing more to do that campaign, and had already taken up their winter-quarters. Several of his principal officers were of opinion that it would be most prudent not to proceed against the Britons with too much rigour at first, but only to keep a watchful eye over such as there was any room to suspect, lest too hasty a revenge might occasion a general revolt. Agricola paid no regard to their timid counsels, but, thoroughly satisfied that so dangerous an evil required a speedy remedy, collected what forces were near him, and marched against the Ordovici, whom he found posted on a hill. Perceiving that they were afraid to come down into the plain, he resolved to march up to them; and, accordingly, putting himself at the head of his troops, to encourage his men by sharing their dangers, he soon drove the barbarians from their post, routed them, and killed almost their whole nation.

Imboldened by this first success, he resolved to venture further; and, as he was near the isle of Mona, which Suetonius Paulinus had miscarried in his attempt to conquer, he determined to try what he could do. This being a sudden resolution, he was not prepared with ships. His courage and invention supplied that want. The sea which parts

Isle of Anglesey.

3 the

* A people of North Wales.

the lesser isle from the greater is neither wide nor deep, and there were among his British auxiliaries some who knew the fords, and had been used to swim their horses over rivers and narrow parts of the sea. These he ordered to leave their baggage behind, and cross over to the isle of Mona. They did so; and the enemy, depending on their natural barrier, and thinking it impossible for any one to get over to them without ships or boats, were so astonished at this unexpected attack, that, concluding it impossible to resist troops that could make such war, they immediately submitted, and sued for peace.

His modesty after very brilliant successes.

This was a fine introduction to his new government. Every one admired Agricola, who had devoted to the dangers and fatigues of war a time which other governors had been used to spend in idle show and ostentation, and in receiving the compliments of the people under them. Agricola was not at all elated with this advantage. To have checked rebels, and kept them within due bounds, was, in his opinion, not to be styled either a victory or an exploit; nor did he think it deserved crowning with laurel either his fasces, or the letters he wrote to the court on that occasion.

By seeming thus * to disregard renown and fame, he acquired the more; every one admiring his behaviour, and asking themselves how great those exploits must be which could satisfy him who made so slight of such important successes.

His prudent conduct in his government.

Agricola purposed finishing the conquest of Britain, and set about it † like a man of superior parts and

* Ipsâ dissimulatione famæ famam auxit, æstimantibus quantâ futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

† Animorum provinciæ prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis si injuriæ sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excindere. A se suisque ortus, primùm domum suam coërcuit, quod plerique haud minùs arduum est quàm

and wisdom, rightly judging that force of arms will not do alone, where the hearts of a people newly subdued are alienated by injustice. He knew the haughty spirit of the Britons, and resolved not to leave them any just cause to murmur or rebel. His own conduct, and that of his domestics, were one of the first objects of his care. He settled, in that respect, such order and regularity as many would find more difficult to effect than to govern extensive provinces. His slaves and freedmen were not employed in any public function. Solicitations and recommendations had no weight with him in the choice of his soldiers and officers; for he well knew that the best would always be the most faithful. He insisted on knowing all, but did not punish all. Slight offences were readily forgiven, and severity was reserved for crimes. Even there too he was as mild as possible, seldom insisting on the punishment of the offender, if he found him sorry for his fault. He chose much rather to employ such as he thought would do their duty well, than to hazard the disagreeable necessity of chastising the guilty.

Such* as behaved well were sure of his esteem and praise. Above all vain-glory, he was a perfect stranger to that mean jealousy which makes some men usurp the honour of another's best and greatest actions. The centurion and his superior officer

provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei: . . . . Omnia scire, non omnia exsequi; parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec pœnâ semper, sed sæpius pœnitentiâ contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos (præficere) quàm damnare quum peccassent.

* Nec Agricola unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit; seu centurio, seu præfectus, incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, ut bonis comis, ita adversus malos injucundus. Cæterùm ex iracundia nihil supererat; secretum et silentium ejus non timeres; honestius putabat offendere quam odisse. *Tac. Agr.* 22.

were equally sure to find in him an impartial judge, always ready to reward merit. Some have taxed him with being too sharp in his reprimands. It is true that he was as severe to bad men as he was mild and indulgent to the good. But then he retained no rancour, and there was no room to fear any secret resentment from him; he thought it more becoming a great soul to hurt than to hate.

He was extremely careful to ease the people, not by diminishing their tributes and imposts, for that was not in his power, but by taxing them more equally, and preventing their being harassed and oppressed by receivers and collectors of the duties, which was worse to them than the payment of their tributes; for that set of men, who have always been noted for their ingenuity in tormenting others, invented a thousand tyrannical tricks in their methods of levying the public contributions. For example, if there was a camp to which corn could be carried easily, and without expense, in the neighbourhood of any British people, that people was ordered to carry it to some more distant place. Agricola* put a stop to that and many other such hardships on his first arrival, and by so doing he enabled the people to enjoy the sweets of peace; during which they suffered before, through the negligence or connivance of his predecessors, as much as if they had been engaged in actual war.

Agricola's second campaign. A. R. 830.

Early the next spring Agricola took the field, making his army observe the strictest discipline, commending and rewarding all that behaved well, and kept within the bounds of moderation. His design this year was not to make new conquests, but to establish the Roman dominion over some people who had been already attacked, but not subdued,

* Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ vel incuriâ vel tolerantiâ priorum, haud minùs quam bellum timebatur.

subdued, and who still struggled for liberty. He succeeded by intermixing vigour and activity with clemency, making sudden incursions among the barbarians, by which he distressed them infinitely, and offering them a safe asylum in his protection whenever they should think proper to submit. At the same time, he took particular care not to let them gain the least advantage over him. He chose his encampments himself, and went in person to reconnoitre the bogs and woods around him. So judicious a conduct soon had the desired effect; several people who had hitherto maintained their independence were induced to give him hostages, and let him build forts in their country, and put garrisons in them. By this means he finished what his predecessors had begun, and completed the plan which they had sketched.

He endeavours to civilize the conquered people, in order to make them more pliant to servitude.

He spent the next winter in endeavouring to civilize those whom his arms had conquered. The Britons of those days lived almost like savages, neglecting to cultivate their lands, ignorant of the bonds of society, and ferociously priding themselves upon their courage only; in consequence of which they were always ready to quarrel and enter into wars. Agricola's* aim was to give them a relish for tranquillity and peace, by making them taste the conveniences and sweets of life. He exhorted them to embellish their houses, to build temples and public places, and, that the expense might not deter them, he charged the state with part of it. Without laying them under an absolute injunction to conform to his views, the commendations which he bestowed on such as came readily into them, and the reproofs which those that neglected them met with, raised a greater spirit of emulation than any command could have done. He took care to have the

* Ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, otio et quieti per voluptates assuescerent.

the children of the best British families instructed in the liberal arts, and encouraged in them a national rivality which has subsisted ever since, by telling them how much they were superior to the Gauls in point of genius and understanding. This policy had the desired effect. People who before were quite averse to learning the Roman language, now vied with each other who should speak it best. The Roman garb too became a mark of distinction among them; the toga was thought the most fashionable dress. Luxury* soon followed. The Britons gave into all the incentives to effeminacy, porticos, baths, and splendid entertainments; and, not foreseeing the consequences of these novelties, they called that politeness and good breeding which was in fact the shackle of their servitude.

Agricola's third campaign. A. R. 831.

Agricola, having by these means secured the whole southern part of the island, advanced towards the north in his third campaign, carrying the war among nations till then unmolested by the Roman arms. He penetrated as far as the Tweed, anciently called the Taus. The latter end of the year proved excessively tempestuous and hurtful to the Romans; but the terror they had spread among the barbarians was so great, that these last, not daring to attack them, gave Agricola time to build strong castles in their country before he left it.

One of this general's great talents was a thorough knowledge of the best situations for building fortresses. Tacitus observes, that not one of the great number which he erected in different parts of the island was either forced by the enemy, or reduced to a necessity of capitulating, or abandoned by

* Paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam; idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, quum pars servitutis esset.

by the troops left to guard it. All the garrisons were refreshed every year with new soldiers, by which means they were enabled not only to fear nothing, but even to annoy the barbarians by their frequent sallies. This was what drove the Britons to despair; for they had been used, under the former commanders of the Romans, to recover in the winter what they had lost in the summer; whereas Agricola gave them no respite, but beat them the whole year round.

Agricola's fourth campaign was spent in securing the conquests of the preceding year. He even extended them to what might have been thought a very proper boundary, if, says Tacitus, the glory of the Roman name could have admitted of any other barrier than that which nature had made. Two gulphs or rivers, formerly called Glota and Bodotria, now the Clyde and the Frith of Forth, form two opposite inlets to the sea, and are parted only by a narrow slip of land. Agricola blocked up this intermediate space with castles built at proper distances; so that the enemy seemed confined to another island. And in fact the emperor Severus, a great while after, fixed the boundaries and pretensions of the Roman empire at this place, and built a wall there, the ruins of which are still to be seen. Nothing but the North Sea could stop Agricola. Fourth campaign. A. R. 832.

As prudent, however, as he was brave and enterprising, he judged it improper to leave any thing behind him insecure whilst he should advance further north, and therefore he devoted his fifth campaign to the conquest of nations, unknown till then, inhabiting the coast of Britain over against Ireland. He fought numbers of battles with them, and at his departure left troops all along that coast, with a view less to prevent an invasion from the Irish, than to facilitate the means of subduing them in after times. Fifth campaign. A. R. 837.

This

This was certainly his design, and it is highly probable that he would have carried it into execution, if he had not been limited in time and power. He often said, after his return to Rome, that one legion, and a moderate number of auxiliaries, were sufficient to conquer and keep Ireland; adding, that it would be a further means to secure the future dependence of Britain, which would then see the Roman arms around her on every side, and not one country near whose free condition she could envy or repine at. Full of these thoughts, which plainly show the greatness of his views, Agricola gave a most gracious reception to a petty prince of Ireland, who had been driven from his dominions by an insurrection of his subjects. He kept him always near his person, that, if a proper opportunity should offer, he might have him in readiness to make use of. That opportunity did not offer whilst he lived, nor ever after, or, if it did, the Romans neglected it; for Ireland was never subject to them.

Sixth campaign. A. R. 834.

Agricola's victories and near approach alarmed the inhabitants of the most northern part of Britain, and the Roman general learned that they were making great preparations. Resolving to march against them in his sixth campaign, he ordered some ships to go first to reconnoitre them, and bring him an account of their situation. Upon their return, he formed his plan. All his forces, both fleet and army, advanced at the same time, himself being at the head of the legions; and as they kept pretty near the shore all the way, the land army and the troops on board the fleet often joined and encamped together. Then it was that every man boasted of his own exploits, and exaggerated past dangers. Some talked of inaccessible mountains, thick woods, and immense forests; others of foaming billows, as high as those mountains, of dreadful storms and horrid tempests. The conquerors of the ocean thought themselves, upon the whole, vastly superior

rior to those who had had only land and men to encounter.

The barbarians were exceedingly terrified when they found themselves menaced with a war both by sea and land. Agricola was the first Roman general that ever employed a fleet against the Britons, who had always looked upon the sea as their last resource, if ever they should be conquered by land. That resource was now taken from them, and they no longer knew what defence to make against an enemy who was master of both elements.

However, they still kept up their spirits; and the * Caledonians, assembling in great numbers, prepared not only to defend themselves, but even to attack the Romans, and demolish the forts which Agricola had built beyond the gulph Bodotria, and which they very justly looked upon as a chain that linked them to slavery. Their preparations, especially when magnified by fame, struck a damp on many in the Roman camp, though they endeavoured to hide their fears under the plausible excuse of prudence, saying it would be most advisable for them not to pass the gulph, and that they had better retreat voluntarily than be driven back by force.

Agricola, who was far above all such panic fears, resolved to meet the danger, and even to go before it. He knew that the barbarians were divided into several bands, and from thence concluded that their design was to hem him in. To prevent this, which they might otherwise have effected by their superiority of numbers, and greater knowledge of their country, he formed his army likewise into three divisions, and marched in three columns.

The Caledonians, being informed of the change Agricola had made in the disposition of his troops, changed

* The Caledonians inhabited the north of Scotland.

changed their plan too, and, uniting again into one body, fell furiously upon the weakest of the three divisions of the Roman army. They attacked it in the night so unexpectedly that they surprised the main-guard, every man of which was cut to pieces, and broke into the camp, where the Romans, snatching up their arms, made head against them, but with great disadvantage.

Agricola's scouts brought him intelligence of the enemy's march; whereupon he set out directly at the head of what light troops he had, both horse and foot. The first that came up with the Caledonians attacked them in the rear; and, at break of day, the shining standard of Agricola's legion appearing, and obliging them to face the Romans on both sides, they began to be troubled and confused; whilst, on the other had, the legion they had attacked recovered fresh spirits and vigour. Hitherto the Romans had fought only to defend themselves and their camp; but now honour was their aim. They repulsed the barbarians, and gained ground upon them. The slaughter was great on both sides at the narrow passes into the camp; but at last the enemy was put to flight by the joint efforts of the Romans within and those without it, all of whom were fired with emulation, some to have a share in the honour of assisting their comrades, and those comrades striving not to want that assistance. The Britons were totally defeated; and if the woods and marshes had not prevented the victors from pursuing their advantage, this action would have put an end to the war.

The Romans, elated with their victory, no longer set any bounds to their designs and hopes. They thought nothing could resist them, and were for penetrating at once into the furthest depths of Caledonia without stopping at all till they reached its utmost boundaries on the North Sea.

Those

Those* who so lately talked of prudence when they wanted to retreat, were now the most presumptuous and bold in words. Such, says Tacitus, is the hard law to which all military affairs are subject: all claim the honour of good sucess, but the bad is imputed only to one.

The Britons did not look upon themselves as conquered. They were satisfied that their defeat was not owing to superior valour in the Romans, but to the dexterity of their general, who had made the most of a lucky opportunity, and accordingly they thought of nothing but renewing the war. To this end they armed their youth, sent their wives and children to places of safety, and set about making alliances to add to their strength. Thus ended this campaign, which served only to animate the courage of both sides, and prepare them for greater efforts the next year.

Seventh campaign. Great preparations of the Caledonians. A. R. 835.

In effect this year, the seventh of Agricola's command in Britain, was that in which the greatest blows were struck. The Britons had at last learned by dear-bought experience that union is necessary to repel a common danger; and the whole winter was spent in embassies from one people to another, and in making treaties between them, in consequence of which they were to join their forces to defend the liberty of Britain. Agricola, on his side, increased his troops by adding to them numbers of Britons chosen from among the nations formerly subdued, whose fidelity had been tried during a long peace. The season for action coming on, he ordered his fleet to cruize along the coast of Caledonia, to make frequent descents, and spread alarms and terror in every place; whilst he marched at the head of his army, leaving the heavy baggage

* Atque illi modò cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur.

gage in his forts, and the winter-quarters, and soon arrived at the Grampian hills*, where the enemy was posted.

The Britons were already upwards of thirty thousand strong, and their numbers increased every hour. Not only young men repaired to the camp from all parts, full of spirits and vigour, but old warriors too, yet strong and fit for service, were desirous to add new honours to those they had already acquired. All, with loud shouts, demanded to be led on to battle; and, to animate them still more, Galgacus, the most distinguished of the chiefs of the combined nations both by his birth and valour, harangued them as follows:

Speech of their general Galgacus.

'When I consider the motives of this war, and 'the necessity which forces us to it, I cannot but 'conceive great hopes that this day, in which you 'are all thus happily united, will restore the Bri-'tish nations to their pristine liberty. Born ene-'mies to slavery as we are, hitherto unacquainted 'with it, we are the last support of the noble cause 'we now defend. No land is left behind us to 'retreat to, and the sea itself is possessed by the 'Roman fleet. Our arms and valour, the only de-'fence brave men would wish to have, are there-'fore now the safest asylum even of the most fear-'ful, if any such there be among you. All who 'have hitherto defended the liberties of Britain 'against the Romans with various success, now 'fix their eyes on us, as on avengers ready to re-'dress their wrongs. Slavery never before dared 'to approach our countries, situate as we are 'in the sanctuary of this island, as the noblest of 'all the Britons; nor did the hateful sight of a 'foreign jurisdiction ever offend our eyes. The 'times are greatly changed. Distant as we are, 'and

* The Grampians are a ridge of hills which cross Scotland from sea to sea.

'and removed to the extremity of the world, the 'ambition of our enemies has sought us out, and 'penetrated to this last asylum of the liberty of 'nations. Though unknown to renown and fame 'by the remoteness of our country, we could not 'remain unknown to ambitious Rome. She has 'discovered the utmost boundaries of Britain, and 'prides herself upon invading every corner of the 'earth. Let us then consider our situation. No 'people dwell beyond us: rocks and waves hem 'us in on one side, and the Romans attack us on 'the other.

'To think of escaping the effects of their ty-'ranny by obedience and submission, would be de-'ceiving ourselves. Their rapacious greediness 'knows no bounds. Robbers * of the world! Now 'that they have no more lands to ransack, they 'are searching into the depths of the seas. If 'their enemy is rich, covetousness spurs them on, 'if poor, ambition is their motive; nor east nor west 'can satisfy them. They would be sole masters 'of all, rich and poor. To plunder, destroy, and 'kill, is what they call exercising of rule and em-'pire; and their way of establishing peace in a 'country is to reduce it to a perfect desert. Our 'children and relations are the dearest gifts of na-'ture. They too are forced away, made soldiers 'for their service, and sent like slaves to other coun-'tries. The honour of our wives and daughters falls 'an inevitable sacrifice to their brutality; far more 'dangerous when they call themselves our friends 'and allies, then when, like enemies, they attack us 'with open force. They rob us of our money by

* Raptores orbis! postquam cuncta vastantibus defuêre terræ, et mare scrutantur; si locuples hostis est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi; quos non oriens non occidens satiaverit; soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.

'our money by the tributes they exact, and of 'our corn to store their camps. Even our labour 'is usurped by them; and we are subjected to ser- 'vile offices, beaten and abused, forced to cut ways 'for them through woods, and to build causeways 'over our marshes for their use. Slaves *, born to 'bondage, are sold but once, and their masters 'feed them. But Britain has her daily servitude, 'and feeds her tyrants. Our fate is much harder 'than that of people conquered long ago. New 'slaves are the sport even of their comrades; and, 'as to us, we shall never be looked upon by our 'enemies but as a poor conquest, of no other use 'to them than to insult and destroy us; for what 'lands, what mines, what harbours, or what ports 'have we, that can be of any advantage to them? 'Besides †, courage and high sentiments in those 'that obey are always displeasing to their supe- 'riors, whose pride is hurt thereby. The very 'distance at which we are situate, instead of be- 'ing a safeguard to us, is what gives room for 'greater suspicion and distrust. Let despair then, 'that despair to which we are thus driven, rouse 'the courage of all that hear me; of all that love 'either their lives, or, which is dearer still, their ho- 'nour. Call to mind that heroine ‡, who, when 'injured and insulted by the Romans beyond all 'bearing, putting herself at the head of a league 'less powerful than yours, took towns, razed for- 'tresses, and shook off an ignominious yoke. What 'infamy could it not be to the Caledonians, whose li- 'berty

* Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro à dominis aluntur. Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit.

† Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longiquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius.

‡ Boadicea queen of the Icenians. Book XI. of this History.

'berty has never yet been touched, to show less 'courage in defence of it than a woman did to 'free herself?

'Think you that the Romans are as valiant in 'war as they are insolent in peace? Our own dis- 'cords and dissensions are what give them the ad- 'vantage over us. Our vices work their victories. 'Their army, a confused medley of all sorts of 'nations, stands in need of constant success to 'keep it together; one defeat would ruin and dis- 'perse them all. Do* not imagine that the Gauls, 'the Germans, and, with shame I speak it, the 'Britons too, who now shed their blood to esta- 'blish a foreign dominion, but who were longer 'enemies than they have been slaves, can be any 'way sincerely affected to the Romans. Fear is 'what ties them; a feeble tie! the moment it is 'broken, hatred and detestation will succeed.

'Every prospect of victory is on our side. The 'Romans are not animated by the presence of 'their wives; their mothers are not with them to 'check their flight; numbers of them have no 'country, or at least no other than this. You see 'before you a few legions, lost and bewildered in 'an unknown land, where the heavens, the sea, 'and the forests, are sights quite new to them, and 'strike their astonished eyes with terror and 'amaze.

'Let not† the richness of their armour, embos- 'sed with silver and with gold, give you the least 'discouragement. It is an idle ornament, of no 'use either to attack or to defend. We shall

* Nisi si Gallos et Germanos, et (pudet dicere) Britannorum plerosque, dominationi alienæ sanguinem suum commodantes, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et affectu teneri putaris. Metus et terror est, infirma vincula caritatis; quæ ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient.

† Ne terreat vos vanus adspectus, et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat.

'finds allies too even in their army. The Britons 'will be sensible how much it is their interest to 'join us in defence of the common cause. The 'Gauls will call to mind their ancient liberty, and 'the Germans who groan beneath the Roman yoke 'will be glad to shake it off. This battle over, 'and the victory ours, all we shall have to do will 'be to take their ill-garrisoned castles, their colo-'nies of old men, and towns in which discord 'reigns between haughty masters and discontent-'ed subjects. The * enemy is before you. Tri-'butes, extortions, and every horrid circumstance 'of slavery and bondage, with which you are on 'the point of being loaded for ever, or of being 'for ever freed, all depend on this one action. 'Remember the honour of your ancestors, and the 'good of posterity.'

The barbarians heard Galgacus with transports of joy, and made the air resound with shouts and cries. So impetuous was their ardour to engage, that it was with difficulty he kept them back, while he appointed every man his post. The most daring, advancing out of their lines, bade defiance to the Romans.

Though Agricola's troops were excellent, and perfectly well disposed, he thought it not improper to exhort them to behave well in an action which was to be decisive. The following is the speech Tacitus lends him.

Agricola's speech to his army.

'This, fellow-soldiers, is our seventh † success-'ful campaign. Your courage and generous re-'solution, under the auspices of the Roman em-'pire, has never yet failed to conquer the Britons. 'Your

* Hic dux, hic exercitus; ibi tributa, et metalla, et cæteræ servientium pœnæ, quas in æternum proferre, aut statim ulcisci, in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem, et majores vestros, et posteros cogitate.

† The text says the eighth, but that must be a mistake, as plainly appears on reckoning up Agricola's campaigns.

'your vigour, and indefatigable perseverance in 'surmounting every difficulty, and even nature 'herself, have often been tried and approved. I 'have reason to be satisfied with my soldiers, and 'hope you have no cause not to be so with your 'general. Our joint efforts have exceeded the li- 'mits where other commanders and other armies 'before us have been stopped. It is not by vague 'accounts and confused reports that we are now 'made acquainted with the remotest regions of 'this island. Our arms have reached them. We 'have discovered the whole of Britain, and sub- 'dued it.

'In your long and painful marches, in which 'you had mountains, forests, and rivers to struggle 'with, I have often heard the bravest of you say 'to each other, When shall we meet the enemy? 'when shall we fight? Behold those enemies now 'before you, forced to abandon their places of re- 'treat. The accomplishment of your wishes is now 'in your own hands; an ample field lies open to 'your valour. Be victorious now, and all obstacles 'are removed; every thing will give way before 'you. The reverse must be the case, if you suffer 'yourselves to be conquered.

'What now enhances the merit of your glo- 'rious exploits, your having marched over a vast 'extent of land, pierced through immense forests, 'and crossed great lakes and rivers, would be in- 'superable obstacles to flight. Our advantages 'would become difficulties and dangers. We 'have neither equal knowledge of the country, 'nor equal plenty of provisions, with our ene- 'mies; our arms are our only resource. For my 'part *, I have always looked upon the flight,

* Quod ad me attinet, jampridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitûs neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors

'either of an army or of its general as a thing 'attended with the certain ruin of both. Two 'indisputable maxims are, that it is better to die 'with honour than to live with shame, and that 'honour and safety are inseparable companions. 'Either to die, or finish the conquest of the world, 'is a fate surely to be envied.

'If you did not know the enemy, if you were 'about to engage nations with whom you never 'yet had coped, I might allege examples of other 'armies to encourage you. But, on this occasion, 'you have only to remember your own trophies 'to let your eyes convince you. Look at them; 'they are those same barbarians, who but last 'year attacked by stealth one of our legions, and, 'unable to sustain your shock, fled at your first 'approach. These are, of all the Britons, the most 'fearful, and the readiest to fly. It is to the 'nimbleness of their feet that they owe their pre-'sent existence. As in a great hunt, when the 'woods are beat, the boldest beasts are not killed 'or taken but by downright force, whilst the ti-'mid are frightened by the bare noise of the hunt-'ers, and seek for shelter in the thickets, so the 'bravest of the Britons resisted till they were de-'stroyed; what remains is a cowardly pack. It 'is not owing to their having staid for you that 'you have at last found them. They are forced 'to meet you because they can fly no further. 'See how they stand trembling with fear, offer-'ing you a victory as easy as it will be glorious.

'Finish * the noble work you have so well be-'gun. Crown fifty years of war with one day's 'triumph.

turpi vitâ potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt. Nec ingloriam fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturæ fine cecidisse.

* Transigite cum expeditionibus; imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem; approbate reipublicæ nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

'triumph. Show the republic that the army is 'not to blame, either for the length of the war, or 'the frequent rebellions of the conquered.'

The ardour of Agricola's soldiers was visible whilst he spoke. The moment he had done, they took up their arms with joy and confidence. His disposition of his army was remarkable; the first line consisted entirely of auxiliaries; eight thousand foot formed the centre, and three thousand horse the wings. The legions remained behind, as a body of reserve, at the head of their intrenchments. Two reasons induced Agricola to draw his troops up in this manner; the first, that it would redound infinitely to his honour to conquer without shedding a drop of Roman blood; the other, that if the first line should give way, the second might be ready to back it powerfully. Battle. The Romans conquer.

The Britons, posted on the declivity of an hill, formed a semicircle, each line of their army rising higher and higher with the ground. Their horse and chariots of war scoured the middle of the plain with prodigious noise and din. The barbarians were greatly superior in numbers, which made Agricola fear they might extend their front and surround him. To prevent this, many of his officers advised him to order the legions to advance; but he chose rather to keep to his first plan, only giving his first line more extent by widening the ranks.

Both armies fought for some time at a distance, and the Britons defended themselves with ease, dexterously parrying the darts and arrows of the Romans, and pouring down showers of others upon them. But the scene was soon altered when two Tongrian and three Batavian cohorts, in consequence of Agricola's orders, made the enemy come to a close engagement. The Britons had a great disadvantage in this way of fighting, their shields being small, and their swords of an enor-

mous length, and without point, so that when they were close engaged with an enemy who made use of his point, they could neither parry his thrusts nor return them. The Batavians, on the contrary, were perfectly skilled in this such attacks, and did infinite mischief to the Britons, beating them about with their large shields, running the points of their swords into their faces, and taking every advantage which their superiority of skill in close fighting afforded them; by which means the enemy was soon thrown into disorder and confusion. The other cohorts, encouraged by their example, seconded them, and slew all that opposed them.

The* British cavalry and their armed chariots shared the same fate as their infantry. They were broken, after some resistance, and the Romans remained sole masters of the plain.

The Britons, who, posted on their eminence, had been till then only spectators of the fight, seeing what passed, descended into the plain, and began to surround the Romans. Agricola ordered four regiments of horse, which he had reserved for unforeseen accidents, to march directly against the enemy, and prevent this new attack. This was what decided the victory. The Britons were less able to bear the shock of the Roman horse, as they were themselves over eager and ardent. Their ranks were broken at once, and all of them dispersed. The victorious horse then turned their own stratagem against them, extending themselves, and wheeling round to attack the rear of those that still continued to fight. The Britons were totally defeated; none thought of resisting any longer, but all sought safety in flight.

The

* Tacitus is somewhat obscure in this place, owing probably to some alteration of his text. I have taken only what is clear.

The victors pursued and made great slaughter of them. Rage and despair still animated from time to time the drooping courage of the vanquished, especially when they came near the woods; several small parties of them rallied, and, lying in ambush in the thickets, surprised and killed those that ran after them too hastily and rashly. Agricola, whose vigilance nothing escaped, was sensible of the danger, and accordingly took measures to prevent the ruin of his victorious troops, which their too great confidence in themselves would have plunged them into. He ordered a party of his best infantry to surround the forest, some of his cavalry to enter it where practicable, and others to dismount, that they might penetrate the further. By this means the pursuit was continued without danger to the Romans; and the Britons finding they had nothing more to hope for from surprise, dispersed again, and avoided one another, thinking it safer to be quite alone than to be seen marching in companies. The Romans pursued the conquered till night, when, tired of killing and making prisoners, they returned to their camp. The Britons lost ten thousand men; the Romans three hundred and forty, and only one officer of distinction.

The victors spent the night in joy and tranquillity; the Britons in lamenting their disaster, and seeking for one another. The air was filled with shrieks of women, and cries of men. The wounded were dragged away, and the unhurt gathered together, as well as they could. All abandoned their dwellings, and in their despair set fire to them themselves. One hour they thought their place of retreat safe, and the next they left it as insecure. They met to consult in common what was best to be done, and then separated, leaving every man to do as he thought proper. The sight of all that was dearest to them in the world now melted them into pity, and now raised their fury. It was reported for fact

that

that some killed their wives and children, thinking it the last and greatest proof they could give them of their tenderness and affection.

The next day gave the Romans a full view of their victory. Silence, such as dwells in solitudes, deserted hills, and burning cottages, plainly told them they had no more enemies to oppose. Parties were sent to reconnoitre, and returned without finding a human creature. Agricola was then sure that the Britons were entirely dispersed, that they had fled to their several coasts, and had no thought of making head again. But the season was too far advanced for him to proceed further into the country, or pursue the vanquished to their several retreats, in order to subdue them entirely. He therefore marched his troops back towards the south to the country of the* Horesti, who gave him hostages, with which he was satisfied. From thence he continued his march slowly, to give the people, through whose territories he passed, time to observe the strength of his army, and to leave a stronger impression of terror behind him. In this manner he returned to his winter-quarters.

Agricola's fleet sails north round th. island. Tac. Agr. 10.

Whilst he was upon his march, his fleet was ordered to sail north round the island. This was the first time that a Roman fleet ever attempted that navigation, the success of which removed all doubt of Britain's being an island. So Tacitus expresses himself; which proves, as I have elsewhere observed, that the Romans were doubtful about it. Agricola's fleet discovered the Orcades, and likewise Thule, hidden till then, says Tacitus, under ice and snow. The Thule here spoken of cannot be Greenland, for that is too distant from the course the Romans steered, but must rather be the isles

* The Horesti dwelt on this side of the gulph of Clyde, near the Eden, in the country now called Eskdale.

isles of Shetland. The fleet arrived safe in the port of Trutula*.

What first made Agricola think of making the tour of Britain by sea, was a memorable adventure which happened the year before. A new raised cohort of Usipians was sent from Germany to Britain, where, regretting their native country, and thinking themselves in a manner banished, they mutinied, killed the centurion and old soldiers that were to instruct and form them, seized upon three ships, on board of which they embarked, and forced the pilots to stay with them. One of these pilots made his escape; whereupon the Usipians, suspecting the other two, killed them, and by that means were left to themselves in an unknown sea, with ships they knew not how to manage. All they could do was to sail along the coasts, uncertain, whither they were going, and causing extreme surprise wherever they touched, for want of provisions forced them to land frequently, and as often to fight the natives, who did not like to be plundered. The Usipians, sometimes victors, and sometimes repulsed with loss, were at last reduced to such distress, that they ate one another, killing the weakest first, and afterwards those on whom the lot fell. At last, after making the tour of the island, they came to the German ocean, where they were taken, part of them by the Suevi, and part by the Frisons. Some were sold to masters, who carried them to Italy, where their voyage was as much talked of, and thought as extraordinary, as Vasco de Gama's doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and discovering the East Indies, was in later times.

Memorable adventure of a cohort of Germans. Dio. Tit. Tac. Agr. 28.

Agricola† sent Domitian an account of his victory

Domitian jealous.

* This name is unknown to geographers. Some think it a mistake, and that it should be Rutupa, now Richborough, in the country of Kent; but that opinion is liable to objections.

† Hunc rerum cursum, quanquam nullâ jactantiâ epistolis Agricolæ auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte lætus, pectore anxius accepit.

of Agricola's honours.

ry over the Caledonians, and of the state of the Roman affairs in Britain, taking care to couch it in the simplest and most modest terms, without the least ostentation; but even this precaution could not screen him from the jealousy of that suspicious prince. The greatness of his exploits excited Domitian's envy and dislike. He was vexed to the soul, though he endeavoured to conceal his real sentiments, and to seem pleased. He could not but be sensible how mean and despicable his late farce of a triumph over the Germans made him appear to all men, and how much this signal victory of Agricola's deserved the admiration and esteem of every Roman. To be eclipsed by a private man, was to him the height of grief, and, in his opinion, of danger too. In vain, said he to himself, have I silenced eloquence, and stopped the progress of the liberal arts, thus to let another gain the honours of war. Merit of any other kind may be borne in another; but to excel in war is the sovereign's right.

He recals him, decreeing him the ornaments of triumph.

These reflections gave him great uneasiness; and, what in him was a sure indication of some bad design, he kept * his thoughts to himself, deferring his vengeance till time should diminish the splendour of Agricola's reputation, and abate the affection of the soldiers for him. He ordered the ornaments of triumph to be decreed Agricola, together with a statue, and all the honours that a private man could receive under the emperors, in lieu of the triumph itself, which none but the prince was now entitled to. At the same time Domitian recalled him, and thereby prevented his completing the conquest of Britain. But that his so recalling him might not be

A. R. 836.

* Talibus curis exercitus, quodque sævæ cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in præsentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famæ et favor exercitus languesceret.

be thought to proceed from any dislike, though in reality it did, the emperor took care to propagate a report that he intended to give Agricola the government of Syria, one of the best the Romans had, and at that time vacant. It was further said, that one of Domitian's freedmen, who was generally employed in that prince's secret commissions, was despatched with the grant of that government, and orders to deliver it to Agricola in Britain; but that, meeting him in the channel, he had returned without speaking to him. Tacitus does not assert this for fact, but, though he thinks it probable, seems rather to suspect it was some after invention founded on the well-known character of Domitian.

Agricola's modest behaviour.

Agricola left his successor in quiet possession of his command in Britain. Arriving at Rome*, his chief care was to enter that city without the crowds that usually attend on such occasions, or even his friends, who intended meeting him without the gates. To prevent this, he made his entry in the night, went by night to the palace, and there, after receiving a cold kiss from Domitian, without one civil word, he mingled with the crowd of courtiers. His behaviour was equally modest in every thing. He was apprehensive lest the splendour of his military honours should offend the eyes of the idle citizens, and therefore strove to hide it on all occasions by the simplicity of his appearance. His way of life was plain and modest, his manners affable and easy, and his train only two or three friends;

so

* Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentiâ occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est. Cæterùm, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus; adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, viso adspectoque Agricolâ, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

so that those who had been used to esteem men in proportion to the pomp and magnificence of their appearance would often ask, when they saw Agricola, whether that was the warrior so much talked of. Few were sensible of the true cause of his well-judged policy.

He lived upwards of nine years in this private manner, by which, though he did not escape dangers, he at least avoided a fatal end. Soon * after his return to Rome, he was several times accused before Domitian, when absent, and, though absent, as often acquitted. The real motive of these accusations against a man whose conduct was absolutely irreproachable, and of whom none had any reason to complain, was no other than his too great reputation, the prince's jealousy, and the malicious praises of his artful enemies, who sought his ruin, though indeed none could forget Agricola, or refrain from talking of and extolling him, when they saw how injudiciously their wars were undertaken, how badly they were conducted, and how unsuccessful they proved. The Roman armies, defeated and destroyed in Mœsia, Dacia, and Pannonia, made the whole people call out for Agricola. Every one compared his activity, skill, and experience, with the indolence, incapacity, and rashness of the generals that were employed. These † speeches were carried to Domitian, whose freedmen, some out of zeal and affection for Agricola, others out of envy and malice, spoke the same language, and contributed

* Crebrò per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est, causa periculi non crimen ullum, aut querela læsi cujusquam, sed gloria viri, et infensus virtutibus princeps, et pessimum inimicorum genus laudantes.

† Quibus sermonibus satis constabat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate, et livore, pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

buted alike to indispose against him a prince susceptible of none but bad impressions. Thus was this great man raised by his own virtues, and the vices of others, to the pinnacle of glory; a dangerous situation in the days we are now speaking of.

The time came round when the proconsulships of Asia and Africa were to be drawn for by lots. Both of them were very profitable and extremely honourable posts. Neither could be held but by such as had been consuls, and seniority was what entitled them to be candidates. The two oldest were to draw lots, which should have Asia, and which Africa. Agricola was sensible, that if he claimed his right, the suspicious emperor would be still more irritated; and the recent example of Civica, proconsul of Asia, put to death for a pretended design to revolt, was a lesson to him, and an encouragement to Domitian to do the same again. The prince's emissaries sounded Agricola, asking him whether he had any thoughts of having a government? His answer was indirect; whereupon they began to extol the sweets of quiet and repose, offering their mediation to make his excuses agreeable. At last, throwing of the mask, they advised him, as friends, to relinquish his pretensions; and, telling him what dangers he would be exposed to, carried him to Domitian, who, being * prepared beforehand to act his part, received Agricola's petition not to be made governor, with excessive haughtiness and arrogance, not blushing even when he thanked him for granting his request. Domitian did not make him the present usual on these occasions, though he had given it to others before, perhaps because he was offended at Agricola's not asking it.

Men,

* Qui paratus simulatione, in arrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et quum annuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidiâ.

Men, says Tacitus *, are always inclined to hate those whom they have injured. Domitian possessed that unjust temper to the highest degree. His heart was radically bad and wicked, and his dissimulation so profound, that it was difficult to know when or how he was displeased. Agricola, however, disarmed the tyrant's bloody hand by his mildness, moderation, patience, and care to avoid all that show and parade of liberty, the reward of which generally was death.

Agricola's death. *A. R. 844.* Agricola died peaceably on the twenty-third of August, in the year when Collega and Priscus were consuls. Tacitus tells us how much he was regretted by every rank of people. During his illness, crowds resorted to his house to inquire after his health; it was the public talk of all, and, when he died, there was not a Roman who did not lament his loss. What added to the pity of all was a report that his disorder was occasioned by poison. Tacitus does not say it was so, nor did Agricola suspect any such thing. On the contrary, he declared on his deathbed that it was no small comfort to him to die without Domitian's committing a crime to get rid of him. It is, however, not the less certain that the cruel and jealous emperor was glad to be delivered from a subject whose merit gave him perpetual uneasiness. This appears plainly by the frequent visits which he ordered his own physicians, and such of his freedmen as he confided most in, to make him. It was not his custom to be so very civil to men in private life; curiosity was undoubtedly his motive, much more than any desire that Agricola should recover. The day on which he died,

* Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem læseris. Domitiani vero natura, quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiâque Agricolæ leniebatur; quia non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat.

died, in particular, messengers were posted from space to space, from Agricola's house to the palace, to bring word every instant how he was. Domitian would scarcely have taken so much pains to learn a thing that would have been disagreeable to him. He affected, however, a great concern for his death, but all saw through the dissimulation. His hatred had then gained its end; and, as is the case with all cowards, he knew how to conceal his joy better than he could his fears *.

Agricola's will was dictated by the same policy which had been the rule of all his actions whilst he lived, Domitian being appointed heir to what he left, jointly with his wife and daughter. The emperor was highly pleased at what he called that last proof of his esteem. The † servile adulation he had been long accustomed to, says Tacitus, had so blinded his eyes, and corrupted his understanding, that he did not consider that a good father never makes a sovereign his heir, unless he be a very bad prince.

Agricola left no child but his daughter married to Tacitus. He had a son born in England who lived but a year, and whose loss he bore ‡ as became a man, without weakness or affected Stoicism. The war he was then engaged in helped to divert and assuage his grief. Tac. Agr. 28.

Tacitus had been absent from Rome four years when Agricola died. Probably he had some post which kept him so long in the country. He expresses his concern on that occasion with such pathetic Noble and tender sentiments of Tacitus on the occasion of the death of his father-in-law.

* Speciem tamen doloris ... præ se tulit; securus jam odii, et qui faciliùs dissimularet gaudium quàm metum.

† Tam cœca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret à bona patre non scribi hæredem, nisi malum principem.

‡ Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiosè, neque per lamenta rursus ac mœrorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. *Tac. Agr.* 28.

thetic tenderness, that to omit what he says would not be doing justice to my readers. He addresses his dying father-in-law thus: 'One* circumstance which greatly adds to mine and your 'daughter's grief is, our being debarred the satisfaction of attending you in your illness, of comforting your last moments, of embracing you, 'and endeavouring to detain the dear fleeting object of our love. At least we should have received, with profound respect, your last counsels, 'and have engraven them indelibly on our minds. 'To have been deprived of that sweet comfort, 'gives us inexpressible sorrow; it is a wound 'which never can be healed. You was lost to us 'four years before your death. Your loving wife, 'oh best of fathers! has undoubtedly taken care 'to see all due honours paid to so great a man. But 'too few tears were shed at your funeral, and your 'dying eyes still longed to see us.'

Though Tacitus expresses his grief so feelingly, he did not give too much way to it. Instead of wasting himself in vain complaints, he recommends Agricola's virtues as a noble motive of emulation to all his family. The glory of a hero, says he, ought not to be tarnished with tears. Let us rather pay him our just tribute of admiration, and with immortal praises acquit ourselves of what we owe him. 'So† it is that those who belong to 'him

* Mihi filiæque, præter acerbitatem parentis erepti, auget mœstitiam, quod assidere, valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu, non contigit. Excepissemus certè mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, assidente amantissimâ uxore, superfuere honori tuo. Paucioribus tamen lacrymis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid ocutui.

† Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiæ

'him ought to show their piety. It is not for 'myself only that I speak thus; I endeavour to in- 'culcate the same sentiments in his wife and daugh- 'ter, telling them that they cannot show their ve- 'neration for his memory better than by incessant- 'ly calling to mind his actions and his speeches; 'by striving to imprint the image of his virtues in 'their hearts, rather than preserve, in paint or 'marble, a perishable representation of his fea- 'tures and person. Not that I pretend, adds he, 'to blame relations for having those kind of mo- 'numents which remind them of their deceased 'friends; but it is the heart, the soul, that I 'would have them chiefly to consider, and be 'themselves a living image of their virtues, not to 'be expressed by any inanimate thing.'

Besides this first duty, which a good heart naturally performs, Tacitus acquitted himself of another which required talents. The portrait he has drawn of his father-in-law with his pen excels all that the pencil of the greatest painters, or the chizzel of the ablest sculptors, could have achieved to perpetuate the memory of Agricola. He was unwilling to let posterity be ignorant even of his form and person. He tells us that he was well made, though not tall; that his countenance was rather mild than stern, as men bred up in arms generally look; that candour and probity were pictured in his face; that none could see him without loving him, and that all were delighted to find the great and the honest man united in him.

quoque uxorique præceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque secum revolvant, famamque ac figuram animi magis quàm corporis complectantur. Non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quæ marmore aut ære finguntur; sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt: forma mentis æterna, quam tenere et exprimere, non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus, possis,

Agricola was not fifty-six years old when he died, so * that he might have expected a much longer life. 'But what could he have wished for,' says Tacitus, 'more than he had? He died possessed of 'true riches, virtues. It was not in the power of 'fortune to add new titles of honour to him who 'had been consul, and enjoyed the honours of tri-'umph. His income was sufficient to support his 'rank, nor did he desire more. He left his fami-'ly in an easy flourishing situation. Under such 'circumstances, it was happier for him to die than 'to have lived to see the miseries which Domitian 'made his country suffer; for it was towards the 'latter end of his life that that prince became 'most cruel, and, no longer satisfied with at-'tacking the republic from time to time only, 'seemed resolved, if possible, to destroy it at one 'blow.'

The revolt of L. Antonius, with which I shall resume the thread of this history, soured Domitian's temper excessively, and made him even more savage than before.

SECT.

* Quanquam medio in spacio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longissimum ævum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quæ in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis prædito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosæ contigerant. Filiâ atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente famâ, salvis affinitatibus et amicitiis, futura effugisse. . . . Festinatæ mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhausit.

SECT. IV.

Revolt, defeat, and death of L. Antonius. His defeat reported at Rome the very day it happened. His conqueror burns all his papers. Domitian grows more cruel than ever. Condemnation and death of Helvidius Priscus. Senecio meets with the same fate. Generosity of the younger Pliny. Fannia and her mother Arria banished. Condemnation and death of Arulænus Rusticus. Melancholy situation of the senate. The philosophers banished from Rome and Italy. Dion Chrysostomus. Pontius Telesinus. Epictetus. Artemidorus. All talents, and especially eloquence, depressed and stifled. Informers. Domitian persecutes the church. The grandsons of St Jude the apostle brought before the emperor, and examined by him. St John thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos. Martyrdom of Flavius Clemens. The two Domitillas banished. Clemens's children. Domitian puts Acilius Glabrio to death. Nerva banished. Juventius Celsus gains time, and thereby avoids being condemned and put to death. Domitian's precautions to prevent a rebellion among his troops. The senate oppressed. Domitian thinks to intimidate those about him by putting Epaphroditus to death. They conspire against him, with the empress at their head. They secure Nerva's consent, destining him to succeed Domitian. Domitian is upon his guard. Pretended predictions by which he is said to have been forewarned of the impending danger. The conspirators kill him in his bed-chamber. Apollonius Tyaneus said to have known the murder the instant it was committed, though he was then at Ephesus. Domitian's age. His furtive funeral. Some account of his person. His disposition with respect to literature. He was an excellent marksman with the bow

bow and arrow. He may be compared to Tiberius. The senate detests his memory. The people remain indifferent, and the soldiers regret him.

A. R. 843. Revolt, defeat, and death of L. Antonius. Suet. Dom. 6. and 10. Dio. Vict. Epit. Plut. Æmil.

HISTORY gives us but little account of L. Antonius's rebellion. We scarcely know who or what he was, any further than that he commanded the army on the Upper Rhine; and that, incensed against Domitian for his horrid cruelties, and personally provoked by repeated insults offered him by that emperor, he revolted, with a view to invade the throne. His party seems to have been very strong; not only the legions which he commanded being for him, but likewise several German nations beyond the Rhine.

Rome was alarmed, and Domitian set out for Germany, accompanied by the whole senate, no member of which dared to plead any excuse, for fear of being thought an enemy to the emperor, or at least indifferent about his welfare. Dion Cassius speaks of an old senator who had long retired to the country, but was forced to attend the prince, to avoid inevitable death, had he seemed in the least to want zeal on that occasion.

Domitian was on his march when he learned the defeat of the rebels. L. Maximus, or Appius Norbanus, (for authors call him differently, though perhaps it may have been the same young man who bore all those names,) made what haste he could to attack Antonius before the junction of the Germans, who were stopped by a sudden rise of the waters of the Rhine. He gained a complete victory over him, and Antonius was killed in the battle.

His defeat reported at Rome the very day it happened.

The noise which his defeat made at Rome, before it could possibly be known there with any certainty, was thought miraculous. Suetonius tells us, that the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle of uncommon size perched upon

a statue of Domitian in Rome, and, fluttering its wings about it, seemed to express joy and delight. This pretended presage deserves as little to be heeded as a thousand other stories equally frivolous. What at first sight seems very extraordinary, and yet cannot be disputed as a fact, is, that the very same day a report was spread in Rome that Antonius was defeated and killed. Nothing else was talked of; every one believed it, and the magistrates offered up sacrifices of thanks. That done, they began to reflect and make inquiry after the first author of the news. He could not be traced; and, upon the whole, they found they had no other authority for what they had done than that of the multitude, who in reality knew nothing of the matter. A few days after, the news of Antonius's defeat and death was confirmed by messengers from the army; and, upon comparing the time when it was first reported at Rome with the time when it really happened, both were found to agree exactly. Every one concluded that there must be something supernatural and divine in the affair; even Plutarch, judicious as he is, allows it to be a prodigy; though in fact it is not at all surprising that a report should chance to be spread, and afterwards be confirmed by fact. The very same thing happened before, when Paulus Æmilius conquered Perseus in Macedonia.

See Rom. Hist. Vol. VIII.

The conqueror of Antonius did a thing which redounded more to his honour than even his victory did. Without fearing what the consequence might be, or how far Domitian might be incensed against him for robbing him of his revenge, he burnt all the rebel's papers, that no odious accusations or iniquitous prosecutions might be set on foot against men of real worth and merit.

His conqueror burns all his papers.

We are not told whether Domitian punished Maximus for this noble action; though thus much is certain, that what opportunities he missed of be-

Domitian grows more cruel than ever.

ing cruel by the loss of Antonius's papers, he sufficiently made up the bare-facedness of his tyranny, which from that time sought no longer the least pretence to cloke it. He made the strictest perquisitions possible after all that had the least concern in Antonius's revolt, or even the least knowledge of his designs; nor did their death satisfy his cruelty. He made them suffer the severest torments that could be devised, and even invented a new kind of torture, by applying fire to the tenderest parts of the body. None whom he could find the least room to suspect escaped his vengeance; and if he did spare the lives of some few, he either ordered them into exile, or had their hands cut off. Two officers indeed were excepted; but then they purchased their safety by the forfeiture of their honour, proving themselves to have been so infamous before, that they could not possibly have the least weight either with the head of the rebellion or the soldiers.

Dio ap. Val. We cannot say how many persons Domitian put to death on this occasion; but the number must have been great indeed for him to have been ashamed of it, and to have ordered, as he did, that no account should be kept of it. Nor did he write any longer to the senate on that occasion, though he sent the heads he cut off to Rome, to be exposed to public view with that of Antonius.

Tacitus had particularly in view the times I am speaking of, when he drew the following strong picture of the calamitous situation of the Romans under Domitian's reign. The sea *, says he, was covered

* Plenum exsiliis mare; infecti cædibus scopuli; atrociùs in urbe sævitum. Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium. Nec minùs præmia delatorum invisa, quam scelera; quum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent, ferrent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi. *Tac. Hist.* I. 2.

covered with banished men; the rocks to which they were confined were soon after stained with their blood; but far greater cruelties were perpetrated within the city. To be well born or rich was become a crime; to possess honours as dangerous as not to possess them; but, above all, virtue was sure to be rewarded with death. The scandalous encouragement which informers and accusers met with, soured the minds of all even more than their infamous profession did. They triumphed insolently, some in sacerdotal robes, others with the dignities of consul, ostentatiously glorying in the rich spoils of their detested victories; whilst others again, preferring what was more solid, were made intendants of provinces, were in high favour and credit at court, and became the terror of every honest man. Slaves were hired to impeach their masters, freedmen their patrons, and if any chanced not to have enemies, their very friends were made use of to undo them.

Some * rays of virtue yet shone forth amidst all the iniquity of these wicked times, and heightened the contrast of the tyrant's guilt. Mothers accompanied their banished sons, and wives their husbands; some, when accused, met with friendship and fidelity from their relations; and even slaves were seen to defy the rack rather than betray their masters. Men of great distinction suffered death with as much fortitude of mind and resolution as the most boasted patterns of antiquity.

Such is the short description which Tacitus gives us of the horrid cruelties I am going to relate. What

* Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum, ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatæ profugos liberos matres, secutæ maritos in exsilia conjuges, propinque audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam adversùs tormenta servorum fides. Supremæ clarorum virorum necessitates; ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata; et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. *Tac.*

What pity that we have lost that part of the writings of so great an author, in which he enters into a more minute detail! what should we not feel from his account of the sufferings of three of the best and most illustrious senators who then lived, Helvidius Priscus, Arulænus Rusticus, and Herennius Senecio! All that I can do is to give my readers a faint idea of them.

Condemnation and death of Helvidius Priscus. A. R. 835. Plin. IX. ep. 13. Suet. Dom. 10.

I have spoken of the death of Helvidius Priscus, the father, in Vespasian's reign. His son followed his steps in the paths of virtue and honour. Whether he inherited his republican spirit, and was as hot and fiery, seems doubtful; Pliny, on one hand, telling us *, that in order to avoid, as much as he possibly could, being exposed to the unhappy misfortunes of the times, he buried a name equal to his great virtues in obscurity and retirement; and Suetonius, on the contrary, saying that he wrote a play, the subject of which was the emperor's divorce from his wife, under the fictitious names of Paris and Œnone. If he did, it was certainly a very imprudent action.

He was accused before the senate, either for his verses, which I can hardly think probable, or for some crime trumped up to conceal the real motive of Domitian's hatred. He was of consular dignity, and respected by every honest man; notwithstanding which, Publicus Certus, an ancient prætor, was base enough to lay hands on him in the senate-house, and to drag him to prison. Pliny is quite right in saying †, that nothing more atrocious was ever seen than such meanness in a senator to lay hands upon a brother senator, and such iniquity in a judge as to employ violence against

* Metu temporum nomen ingens, pares virtutes, secessu tegebat. *Plin.* IX. *ep.* 13.

† Inter multa scelera multorum nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod senator senatori, prætorius consulari, reo judex manus intulisset. *Plin.*

a man before he was condemned. Helvidius was put to death.

Herennius Senecio met with equal injustice. His austere virtue could not but displease Domitian, who was likewise offended at his being satisfied with the rank of ancient pretor, in which he chose to continue, without aiming at any thing higher; plainly declaring, by so extraordinary a behaviour, that he looked upon every post under the then government as a post of slavery, unworthy the acceptance of a man who had the least dignity of sentiment. Besides that, he wrote the life of Helvidius Priscus, the father, at the request of his widow Fannia, wherein he bestowed the highest encomiums on that haughty senator, the boldness of whose proceedings even Vespasian, mild and patient as he was, had not been able to bear. And, lastly, he had made Bæbius Massa, a notorious informer, his implacable enemy, by charging him with extortion and concussion. Pliny gives us a circumstantial account of this affair, in which he himself gained great honour, and by which we may judge how firmly resolute Senecio was.

Senecio meets with the same fate. Generosity of the younger Pliny. Dio. Suet. Dom. 10.

Plin VII. ep. 19.

Plin. VII ep. 23.

Bæbius Massa had been governor of Bœtica. The inhabitants of that province, whom he had sorely oppressed, preferred their complaints against him when his term of government expired, and the senate appointed Senecio and Pliny to plead the cause. Massa's guilt was clear beyond dispute. Accordingly he was condemned, his estates sequestrated, and a public officer appointed to receive the incomes of them, till they should suffice to pay the damages and interest due to the people he had injured. Senecio, who had this affair at heart, and who apprehended there might be some collusion between Bæbius and the receiver of his rents, resolved to apply to the consuls, and desire them to give such strict orders that nothing could be sunk or applied to other than the intended purposes.

He

He invited Pliny to join him and back his petition, which he looked upon as a continuation of the charge they both had brought against him. Pliny made some difficulty at first, thinking their commission ended by the sentence already pronounced. 'You may do as you please,' said Senecio to him; 'you have no other connexion with 'the province of Bœtica than the late good of-'fice you have done it. For my part, I was born 'and have been questor there. If you are abso-'lutely bent upon it,' replied Pliny, 'I will em-'bark with you; for I should be sorry, if any mis-'fortune happens, that it should fall on you only.' Accordingly they went together to the senate, and presented their petition, at which Bæbius was excessively enraged, and exclaimed bitterly against Senecio, telling him he went greater lengths than an advocate had a right to do, and acted more like a spiteful and inveterate enemy; adding, that he in his turn charged him with having been guilty of impiety towards the emperor. The whole assembly shuddered at the word; upon which Pliny, addressing himself to the senators, 'Conscript fa-'thers,' said he, 'I fear lest Bæbius's not including 'me in the accusation he charges my brother ad-'vocate with should make me be suspected of pre-'varicating, or declining the cause I espouse.'

Plin. l. ep. 5. We know not how this affair ended, Pliny not finishing his account of it; but, soon after, Senecio was prosecuted for high treason by Metius Carus, a no less dangerous informer than Bæbius Massa, with whom he probably acted in concert. The life of Helvidius, which Senecio wrote, was Tac. Agr. 2. what the charge was founded upon. Senecio was sentenced to die, and his work to be burnt by the common executioner.

Fannia and her mother Arria banished. Helvidius's widow, Fannia, praised by Senecio, was likewise prosecuted. Senecio, whose writings were the crime imputed to him, intending to show that

that it was out of pure regard and friendship for his deceased friend that he wrote his life, said, Fannia too had requested it. She was immediately ordered to appear, and answer the accusations laid to her charge. Fannia was a lady of extraordinary virtue and courage, descended from a family in which high sentiments of honour and probity were hereditary, for she was the daughter of Thrasea, and, by her mother's side, grand-daughter of the celebrated Arria. Her marriage with Helvidius helped to confirm in her that greatness of soul which she had received from the authors of her being. She appeared before the court with a noble intrepidity; and being asked by Metius Carus whether or no she had desired Senecio to write her husband's life, 'Yes,' answered she, 'I did desire 'him to write it.' Did you furnish him with materials? 'I did.' Was it in concert with your mother? 'She knew nothing of it.' Fannia continued answering with the same firmness to every question that was put to her by Carus, in consequence of which she was banished, and her possessions forfeited. This was her third time of going into exile. She had accompanied her husband twice in that disgrace under Nero and under Vespasian, and for him it was that she suffered a third banishment. She * carried with her the book that was the cause of her misfortune, without minding the strict prohibition by which all persons were forbidden to read or have it. Her mother Arria, Thrasea's widow, was banished too for a like cause—an encomium on that great man, written by Arulænus Rusticus. Plin. VII. ep. 19.

Arulænus and Thrasea were always closely united, and, as I before observed, when the former was tribune of the people, he wanted to exert the prerogative of his office to oppose the condemnation of that Condemnation of Arulenus Rusticus.

* Tulit in exsilium exsilii causam. *Plin.*

that worthy senator, but was dissuaded from it by the latter, who looked upon what he proposed as the effect of zeal rather than of prudence. There is therefore no room to wonder that Arulænus was easily induced to write the life of Thrasea, whose steps he purposed to follow. Pliny, who was formed by his good counsels, expresses the utmost veneration for his memory, and the highest esteem for his virtues. His reputation was such that Domitian was jealous of it, and for that very reason, says Plutarch, determined to get rid of him. It is pity so few particulars relating to a man of his merit have come to our knowledge. Plutarch has transmitted one to which he was an eye-wituess, and which we ought to set a value upon, if not as interesting in itself, at least as being the only one we have left.

Plin. 1. ep. 14.

Plut. περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης.

Whilst Arulænus was hearing Plutarch read one of his discourses to a numerous company, a soldier brought him a letter from the emperor. The philosopher and all present were immediately silent, to give Arulænus time to read his letter. The latter was so much master of himself that he very gravely desired Plutarch would go on, and that he might have leave to defer opening his letter, (which coming from the emperor seemed to admit of no delay) till he had done, and the assembly was broken up.

Arulænus's crime was of the same nature with Senecio's, and his fate the same. He was condemned to die, and his book to be burnt. Regulus, who had given specimens of his dangerous talents by promoting several odious accusations in Nero's time, and who continued the same infamous trade under Domitian, though with a little more reserve, solicited and backed Arulænus's condemnation, and was even mean enough to insult him after his death by a scandalous writing which he published and recited with great emphasis. Senecio too

Tac. Agr. 2.

Plin. 1. ep. 5.

too had his share in the invectives of that vile enemy to virtue. But Tacitus has made both those illustrious men amends for it by the praises he gives them. Their souls*, says he, were great and sublime, nor could it answer any end to burn their writings, unless the voice of the whole Roman people, the liberties of the senate, and the united suffrage of all mankind, could have been committed to the same flames.

Junius Mauricus, brother to Arulænus, and not less illustrious than he, was involved in his disgrace, and banished. Plin. l. ep. 5. and 14.

All these sentences of condemnation were pronounced by the senate, whom Domitian held besieged by a party of armed soldiers, so that not the shadow of liberty was left. The senators did not dare so much as to complain, or even groan under the tyranny they suffered, and of which they were forced to be the unwilling instruments. An† account was kept of every sigh that escaped them, and the emperor, who was always present, watched all their looks, studying to construe them into crimes. Melancholy situation of the senate. Tac. Agr. 45.

Pliny tells us in what manner their melancholy deliberations were carried on. None‡ spoke, says he, none opened their mouths, but those to whose unfortunate

* Neque in ipsos modò auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, et libertatem senatûs, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur. *Tac.*

† Quum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, quum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret sævus ille vultus, et rubor à quo se contra pudorem muniebat. *Tac.*

‡ Quis loqui, quis hiscere audebat, præter miseros illos qui primi interrogabantur? Cæteri quidem, defixi et attoniti, illam mutam ac sedentariam assentiendi necessitatem quo cum dolore animi, quo cum totius corporis horrore perpetiebantur? Unus solusque censebat quod sequerentur omnes, et omnes improbarent, imprimis ipse qui censuerat; adeo nulla magis omnibus displicent quàm quæ sic fiunt tamquam omnibus placeant. *Plin. Pan.* 76.

unfortunate lot it fell to be first asked their opinions. The rest mute, and in a manner motionless, assented, as they were forced to do, with a bare nod, though with the utmost grief of heart, and horror of mind. What the first said was agreed to by all, though all disliked it, and none more than him who proposed it; for, in such unhappy times, nothing is more generally disapproved of than what passes with a seeming general approbation.

Such* odious affairs were the only business that was laid before the senate. That august assembly seemed kept up merely out of derision, and to be plunged into all the bitterness of grief. No serious matters, but often the most mournful and afflicting, were the subject of all debates.

The philosophers banished from Rome and Italy. Dio. Suet. 10.

All those whose fatal catastrophes I have been speaking of were brought up in the Stoic school, and their condemnations drew a violent storm upon philosophy in general. By a decree of the senate, Domitian banished all philosophers whatever from Rome and Italy. He could not bear†, says Tacitus, to see the least trace of honour and virtue; but, to be delivered from that importunate sight, drove from him all that professed and taught the study of wisdom and the liberal arts.

Philostr. Apol. VII. 4.

The number of philosophers at Rome was considerable. They dispersed and fled, some to the furthest parts of Gaul, others to the deserts of Lybia and Scythia, whilst others again thought it more convenient to renounce a profession which was attended with so much danger, and to conform to the manners of the times.

Among

* Quum senatus aut ad summum otium, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur, et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, nunquam seria, tristia sæpe censeret. *Plin.* VIII. *ep.* 14.

† Expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bonâ arte in exsilium actâ, ne quid usquam honesti occurreret. *Tac. Agr.* 2.

Among the fugitives was Dion, surnamed Chrysostomus, or *mouth of gold*, who retired to Dacia, where Philostratus says he lived by the labour of his hands, digging and working in gardens, as a day-labourer, and having with him, for his only consolation, one of Plato's dialogues, and one of Demosthene's orations. Philostratus likewise mentions Pontius Telesinus, who had been consul under Nero, but getting acquainted with Apollonius Tyanæus, from that time devoted his studies to philosophy, and, under Domitian, chose rather to leave Rome as a philosopher, than remain in it as a consul.

Dion Chrysostomus. *Phil. Soph.* I. 7.

Pontius Telesinus. *Philost. Apol.* VII. 11.

But the most celebrated of all whom this edict against philosophers drove from Rome, was Epictetus, the honour of the Portico, and the most famous, as well as the most perfect, of the disciples of Zeno. His example is a proof, that the frowns of fortune are not an insuperable obstacle to being a great man. Epictetus was a slave to several masters, and, among others, to Epaphrodites, probably Nero's famous freedman of that name. Epictetus was lame and maimed, always poor; and yet, by the greatness of his genius, the elevation of his sentiments, and the sublimity of his maxims, together with the persuasive manner in which he inculcated his precepts, he had crowds of followers and admirers. His Manual, the only work of his which we have left, does not deserve the contempt with which some have treated it, though it must be owned that his precepts are dry and rigid. And yet it may, perhaps, be justly said, that it is hardly possible for human reason to carry the principles and doctrine of disinterestedness, moderation, and equanimity, farther than he has done. Epitectus retired to Nicopolis in Epirus, and returned to Rome after the death of Domitian.

Epictetus.

He was yet alive when Adrian reigned, and was beloved and esteemed by that prince. He left be-

Spart. Adr. 16.

hind him a great name, and was more respected and revered than any philosopher, author of any sect, had ever been before. Some carried their veneration for him to a degree of superstition; which Lucian justly ridicules, when he introduces a silly fellow, who gives three thousand drachmas (about 80*l.*) for Epictetus's lamp, though but an earthen one: but the purchaser is supposed to imagine, that by studying at night by the light of that lamp, the wisdom of its former owner would be infused into him.

Luc. περὶ ἀπαιδ.

Artemidorus.

Plin. III. *ep.* 11.

Artemidorus, son-in-law to Musonius Rufus, of whom frequent mention has been made in the course of this work, was likewise one of those whom Domitian's aversion to philosophers drove from Rome. Pliny describes Artemidorus as a real philosopher, whose morals were not confined to mere speculations, but were the guide of all his actions. Pliny had so great an esteem for him, that, knowing he was in the suburbs of the city, and ready to depart, but prevented by the necessity he was under of discharging some debts which he had contracted for very just and laudable purposes, he borrowed the sum the philosopher wanted, went to him, and made him a present of it. Artemidorus's rich friends, men in high life, would not understand his meaning when he hinted his necessities to them: but Pliny was glad of an opportunity to assist merit in distress, though by doing it he exposed himself to no small danger; especially as he was at that time prætor, and the eyes of all were of course fixed upon him: besides which, the dreadful thunder of Domitian's anger had but lately swept off numbers of his friends, some by death, and others by exile, and consequently seemed to threaten him, which probably it would have done more directly, if that emperor had lived longer; for a memorial, drawn up by Metius Carus, against Pliny, was found among Domitian's papers, after his death.

Plin. VII. *ep.* 26.

With

With philosophy Domitian banished the liberal arts. Every thing that had the least splendour gave him umbrage, and even eloquence was forced to be silent. A kind of lethargy ensued, which affected the minds of all, kept them in a state of inaction, and stifled the very seeds of genius. Sulpicia, a Roman lady, who wrote a satire on this subject *, asks her muse whether Jupiter intends totally to deprive the Romans of the arts and sciences he had given them? Whether it be his will, that, reduced to silence, and destitute of all culture, they should return to their primæval state of ignorance, when the world was yet in its infancy, men fed on acorns, and quenched their thirst in limpid streams?

All talents, and especially eloquence, depressed and stifled. *Tac. Agr.* 3.

Tacitus, who wrote in Trajan's time, laments the difficulties which all genius, art, and science, had to struggle with, arising from former discouragements and oppressions of them, notwithstanding the great indulgence shewn by that good emperor and his predecessor Nerva. Such † is the frailty of human nature, says he, that remedies operate more slowly than diseases: and, as bodies require

* Dic mihi, Calliope, quidnam pater ille Deorum
Cogitat. An terras & patria secula mutat?
Quasque dedit quondam, morientibus eripit artes?
Nosque jubet tacitos, & jam rationis egenos,
Non aliter primo quam quum surreximus ævo,
Glandibus, & puræ rursus procumbere lymphæ?
SULPICIA.

† Natura infirmitatis humanæ tardiora sunt remedia quam mala: &, ut corpora lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius, quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiæ dulcedo, & invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid quod per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitia principis interciderunt? pauci, &, ut ita dicam: non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactæ ætatis terminos per silentium venimus. *Tac.*

require a long time to attain their growth, and are liable to be destroyed in a moment; so is it much easier to suppress and stifle the activity of the mind, and every art and improvement resulting therefrom, than to revive it when once depressed. The seducing sweets of indolence steal insensibly upon us, and by degrees we grow fond, through custom and habit, of that idleness which we hated and blamed before. Besides this, continues he, in the course of fifteen years, which is a considerable portion of the life of man, many have paid the debt of nature, and the best men have perished through the cruelty of the prince. We are but a handful who have survived, not only others, but in some measure ourselves; for so we may justly say, since so many years have been struck off from the account of our lives, and, condemned to silence, as we were during that period we have now reached, some of us old age, others the last stage of our existence.

Informers. The infamous tribe of informers were the instruments Domitian made use of to oppress and terrify all Rome. I have already mentioned some of them, such as Bæbius Massa, and Metius Carus. Pliny and Juvenal tell us of others, a Veiento, and a Catullus Messalinus, the latter a perfect monster of * cruelty, who, by growing blind, grew the more hardened in iniquity, and the more lost to all sense of feeling, pity, and shame. But the most famous of all, in Pliny's letters, is Regulus, the blackness of whose soul has been already proved by most execrable crimes, but will appear in a still stronger light in the following instance.

Juv. Sat. I. & IV. *Plin.* II. *ep.* 24.

Pliny,

* Grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum.
Cæcus adulator. Juv.

Qui luminibus orbatus, ingenio sævo mala cæcitatis addiderat
Non verebatur, non erubescebat, non miserebatur. *Plin.*

Pliny, at the request of Arulænus Rusticus, undertook to defend a cause before the Centumviri, in which Regulus was his opponent. In the course of his pleading, Pliny happened to lay some stress on the opinion of Metius Modestus, an honest worthy man, but at that time in exile. Regulus immediately attacked him on that head. "Since "you mention Modestus, said he, pray tell us "what you think of him?" Pliny saw his drift: but what could he do? as an honest man he could not say he thought ill of Modestus; nor could he say, he had any great esteem for a banished man, without endangering his own safety. The gods, says he, in his account of this affair, assisted him. "I should answer your question, replied Pliny, if "it was the subject on which the Centumviri are to "give sentence." Regulus attacked him again. "I ask you once more, said he, what you think of "Modestus? Witnesses, replied Pliny, are interrogated when people are accused, and not after "sentence has been passed upon them." Regulus insisted a third time. "I do not ask you what you "think of Modestus's person, said he, but what "you think of his affection for the prince?" Pliny bore this third attack with the same prudence as before. "I do not, answered he, think interrogatories concerning one who has already received "sentence, either lawful or just." Regulus's wicked design plainly was to ensnare Pliny if he could, and force him either to dishonour or undo himself. That very man, as mean and abject as he was infamous and wicked, paid Pliny a visit after Domitian's death, humbly begged pardon for what he had done, and desired to be reconciled to him. *Plin. l. 4. ep. 5.*

The terror which these informers spread throughout Rome, struck a damp upon the minds of all. * It must

* Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum: & sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute,

must be owned, says Tacitus, that we were an extraordinary example of servile passiveness. Our forefathers enjoyed the extremes of liberty: we felt the utmost excess of slavery. The inquisition we were subject to deprived us of the liberty of conversing even in our own families. We should have lost our memories, as well as our voices, had it been as possible for us to forget, as it was to be silent.

Domitian persecutes the Church. *Suet. Dom.* 12.

Domitian filled the measure of his crimes, by persecuting the Church of Christ. I have already observed, that what probably occasioned this persecution, was the collecting of the tributes due by the Jews to the imperial treasury. Suetonius says, that the perquisitions made on that account, extended to all who, in consequence of the engagements they had entered into, lived like Jews, in the city. By that he must mean the Christians, between whom and the Jews no distinction was then made.

A pretended reason of state was a farther motive for Domitian's cruelty. The posterity of David gave him uneasiness. He feared lest some of the remaining offspring of that holy king, should stir up the Jewish nation to rebel; and his mistaken ideas of the kingdom of Christ, added to that fear, increased his alarms, and induced him to enforce the orders before issued out by his father Vespasian against the descendants of David. They concealed themselves to avoid his persecution. Two of them were however discovered and brought to Rome. These were the grandsons of St Jude, related to Jesus Christ, being, like him, descended from David. They were brought before the emperor, and

Eus. Hist. Eccl. III. 12, 19, 20. The grandsons of St Jude the Apostle brought before the emperor, and

servitute, adempto per inquisitiones & loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. *Tac. Agr.* 2.

and examined by him. Hegesippus *, an almost co-temporary writer, gives a particular account of their examination, which the reader will permit me to insert. examined by him.

Domitian asked them, whether they were of the race of David? they said they were. He then asked them what they were worth? they answered, that they had between them the value of * nine thousand denarii, not in money, but land; thirty-nine acres of which, cultivated with their own hands, produced them wherewith to pay their taxes and tributes, and afforded them a subsistence. To prove what they said, they shewed their hands grown callous by hard labour, as those of peasants, and people who follow the plough, generally are. Domitian could not think such men were in any shape to be feared by him. He then put some questions to them concerning the kingdom of Christ. They told him, that kingdom was neither terrestrial nor temporal, but purely celestial and spiritual; and that it would not be manifested until the consummation of time, when Christ, in all his glory, would judge the living and the dead, and reward every one according to his works. These answers cured Domitian entirely of his fears; and he dismissed the two brothers, as poor simple creatures beneath his notice. * About 270*l.*

I have

* Scaliger, in his remarks on the Chronicle of Eusebius, *n.* MMCXII. criticises Hegesippus's account; but, in my opinion, without any just foundation. He supposes, that, according to that ancient writer, the posterity of David was at that time reduced to the two grandsons of the apostle St Jude. Hegesippus says no more than that they were brought before the emperor, as being descendants of David. These very learned men are apt sometimes to advance things without weighing them properly, and thereby fall into mistakes which a writer less confident of his own abilities, though less learned, avoids. M. de Tillemont, *Art. St James the Minor, and St Jude,* tells us how these two brother-saints were related to Jesus Christ.

Euseb. Chron. Dio. A.R. 846.

I have anticipated the mention of this fact: for the order for the persecution being issued out by the emperor only the year before his death; some time must have been spent in discovering, and afterwards bringing to Rome, these two grandsons of the apostle St Jude: consequently they could not undergo this examination until towards the end of Domitian's reign and life. During that interval, several martyrs confessed the name of Christ, and were rewarded with crowns of glory. I shall mention only a few of the most illustrious.

St John thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil, and afterwards banished to Patmos.

It was at this time, as every one knows, that St John was thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil, near the Latin gate at Rome: and being miraculously preserved from the effect of that dreadful punishment, he was banished to the island of Patmos, where he wrote his Revelations.

Tert. de præscr. hæret. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. III. 12.

Domitian found Christians even in his own family, but did not spare them any more than the greatest strangers. Flavius Clemens *, his cousin-german, being consul with him in the year of Christ 95, and of Rome 846, was accused, says Dion Cassius, of atheism, and put to death at the expiration of his consulship. It is well known, that the Pagans meant by atheism, no more than an aversion from the worship of their false gods; and the historian explains himself by adding, that many more were condemned for embracing the system of the Jews, that is, of the Christians. Suetonius taxes Clemens with being of so indolent a disposition, as to incur great contempt thereby. So the Pagans called that indifference for all wordly things, which is

Martyrdom of Flavius Clemens.

Dio. & Suet. 15.

* Flavius Clemens seems to have been the son of Flavius Sabinus, who was killed after the burning of the Capitol, and brother to another Flavius Sabinus, whom Domitian put to death in the beginning of his reign. His wife, Flavia Domitilla, was probably Domitian's sister's daughter, who died before Vespasian was made emperor.

is the effect of the love of God, and of the hope of heavenly blessings.

Flavia Domitilla, neice to the emperor, and wife of Clemens, was involved in the accusation against her husband, and if she did not, like him, receive the glorious crown of martyrdom, she had at least the satisfaction of suffering for the cause of Christ, being banished to the island of Pandataria. The two Domitilla's banished. *Dio.*

The History of the Church mentions another Flavia Domitilla, a virgin, daughter of a sister of Clemens, who was likewise banished, and confined to the island of Pontia. *Eus. Chron. & Hist. Eccl.* III. 18.

Clemens and Domitilla had two sons, whom Domitian destined to succeed him, and whose names he changed for that reason, calling one of them Vespasian, and the other Domitian. All we know of these young princes is, that the emperor committed the care of their education to Quintilian.— We cannot say what became of them, for history is silent on that head. Clemens's children. *Suet. Dom.* 15. *Quinct. Inst. Orat.* IV. *praf.*

Domitian continued to persecute the * Church as long as he lived. He was not of a humour to undo what he had once done, nor to be moved by any considerations of humanity and justice. On the contrary, he grew more and more sour and envenomed against all without distinction; and his distrusts increased with his consciousness of his becoming more hateful and detestable from day to day. After cutting off the heads of so many illustrious Domitian puts Acilius Glabrio to death.

* Hegesippus and Tertullian say, that Domitian revoked his orders against the church. But it is certain from Eusebius, (Eccl. Hist. III. 8) that St John did not return from his banishment till Nerva was seated on the throne: and Dion Cassius says, that this last prince forbade persecuting any for Judaism; that is, for their being Christians. Now that prohibition would not have been necessary, if Domitian had issued such a one before. What may have led Hegesippus and Tertullian into an error, is, that Domitian's persecution was not of any long duration: possibly too it may have been less violent towards the latter end of his reign.

strious persons, nothing would satisfy him but the death of Acilius Glabrio, who had been consul with Trajan five years before, and who bore a name highly esteemed even in the times of the republic. Glabrio was sensible of the dangers to which the splendour of his birth exposed him; and therefore endeavoured to conceal the lustre of it by actions otherwise far beneath him: imitating in that the artifice of the elder Brutus, who * sought for safety in contempt, when he found the laws of his country could no longer protect him. He fought against wild beasts in the circus, and was very dextrous at it: neither bear nor lion could withstand him. But the means by which he thought to secure his safety, proved the cause of his ruin. Domitian prevailed on him one day to enter the lists against a furious lion, at the games he gave at Alba. The strength and dexterity with which Glabrio encountered and conquered this fierce animal, surprized and terrified the emperor. He was afraid those very talents might one day be turned against him; and, to prevent it, found pretences, which he never was at a loss for, to send him into exile, where he had him murdered.

Dio & Juv. Sat. IV.

Suet. Dom. 10.

Phil. Apol. VII. 8.

Another person of consular distinction, Salvienus Orfitus, was treated with equal cruelty. Philostratus speaks of a Rufus who was confined to an island by Domitian's order; and adds, that Nerva was banished to Tarentum. These three senators were men of great merit, and thought worthy of the empire, which Nerva afterwards obtained. But if we credit Philostratus, Domitian's distrust of them was not groundless, for they all held a correspondence with Apollonius Tyanæus, who never ceased to exhort them to deliver the world from a tyrant who oppressed it.

Nerva exiled.

Juventius

* Contemptu tutus esse (statuit,) ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. *Liv. I.* 56.

Juventius Celsus, a famous civilian, dextrously avoided being condemned and put to death. He was one of the chiefs of a conspiracy against Domitian; and, finding he could not escape conviction, desired and obtained a private audience of the emperor. He threw himself at his feet to worship him, called him his Lord and God, and, after protesting how innocent he was, added that he would give him a proof of his zeal and attachment, by making strict search after all who harboured the least thought against the life and welfare of their prince; and that he would acquaint him with whatever discoveries he should make. Domitian was so pleased with Juventius's promise, that he deferred his trial, which was afterwards put off under various pretences, till at last Domitian died, and he escaped.

Juventius Celsus gains time, and thereby avoids being condemned and put to death. *Dio.*

This prince lived in a perpetual state of fear and trembling. Every thing terrified him. He would often say, that princes were to be pitied, because conspiracies against them were never thought real, till after they had been carried into execution. To guard, as much as possibly he could, against the misfortune he justly apprehended might befal him, he secured the soldiery, not only by being very liberal to them, but by preventing whatever seemed to tend to discontent and revolt, by proper regulations in their discipline. For this reason it was, that he forbid any two legions encamping together in time of peace, for fear their united force might make them too bold and enterprising. It was a custom with the soldiers and officers to lay up in a chest, which was kept near the eagle of the legion, what money they saved out of their pay, or the emperor's liberalities, or what they got in war; and that chest was one of the funds which L. Antonius had made use of in his rebellion. Domitian, to prevent its happening so again, which might be the case if the deposits should at any time amount to a large sum, ordered, that no officer or soldier, should

Domitian's precautions to prevent a rebellion among his troops. *Suet. Dom.* 20.

Suet. Dom. 7.

should put above a thousand sesterces (about 8 *l.*) into the chest. In this he acted wisely and prudently, as the event shewed; for it was not by the soldiery that Domitian lost his life.

The senate oppressed

We have already seen how he guarded against the senate and great men of Rome, by violence, cruelty, and tyranny. He was detested by them to the last degree. There was not a senator who did not wish his death, or who, if an opportunity had offered, would not have been instrumental in it. Pliny tells us, that Corellius, whose wisdom and virtue he extols highly, labouring at that time under the weight of years and infirmities, and just then afflicted with a violent fit of the gout, said to him one day; "Why * do you think I submit to "endure the pain and torture I suffer, when a vo- "luntary death would rid me of it? It is, that I "may survive the tyrant I detest, if it be but for a "day." To which Pliny adds, that if Corellius's strength of body had been equal to his courage and resolution, he would himself have done, what, in his situation, he could only wish to have another do. It is more than probable that the greatest part of the senators thought like him. But men who have a rank and station in life, and families and friends to consider, are with-held by those very considerations from hazarding easily what they have. Domitian braved the senate's hatred, with impunity.

Plin. I. *ep.* 12.

Domitian thinks to intimidate those about him, by putting Epaphrodites to death.

The case was different with regard to his freedmen, and those who composed his household. He dreaded them; and in order to intimidate them by an example of severity, he charged Nero's freedman Epaphrodites with having been guilty of a heinous crime in not defending his master, and having, on the

* Cur me putas hos tantos dolores tamdiu sustinere? Ut scilicet isti latroni vel uno die supersim. Dedisses huic animo par corpus: fecisset quod optabat. *Plin.*

the contrary, helped him to kill himself: and accordingly, though Domitian himself had long made use of Epaphrodites, and entrusted him, as Nero did, with the care of all petitions to the emperor, he condemned him to suffer death. The prefects of the prætorian guards were not sheltered from his cruel distrusts: he sacrificed them to the least suspicion. But can that be wondered at, when he shed the blood of his relations for as slight causes? *Suet.* 14. § *Dio.*

His bloody policy was mistaken here. By making himself odious, and an object of terror to those that were about them, he armed against him those very hands which duty would otherwise have lifted up in his defence. A conspiracy was formed against him, consisting entirely of people belonging to him, and living under the same roof. The empress, his wife, was at their head. The two prætorian prefects, Norbanus and Petronius Secundus, knew it: his chamberlain Parthenius, in whom he put so much confidence, that he allowed him to wear a sword in his presence; Sigerius, another chamberlain; Entellus, keeper of the imperial archives; Stephanus, Domitilla's intendant, and others, like them, particularly attached to the emperor by their posts and offices, were the persons who laid the plot and executed it. They conspire against him, with the empress at their head.

Domitian was so enamoured of Domitia, that he forced her away from her husband Ælius Lamia, as I before said. He had a son by her, about the * beginning of his reign, for which he gave her the surname of *Augusta*. But Domitia falling in love with the pantomime Paris, Domitian would have put her to death, had he not, with difficulty, been dissuaded from that design by the remonstrances of Ursus, a man of great rank and genius. *Suet.* 1. 8. § 14. § *Dio.*

He

* The text of Suetonius is vitiated in the place I am now translating. The turn I give it seems to me the most probable.

Tillem. He therefore only repudiated her; and soon after was weak enough to take her again. There is room to think she did not strive much to deserve her husband's pardon and affection, by behaving better: for at last she forced him to hate her so, that, if we may credit Dion Cassius, he absolutely resolved to take away her life. The same historian adds, that all those whom I have mentioned as conspirators, were threatened with the same fate, and knew it. Suetonius says no such thing. He mentions no particular danger that any of them were in, except Domitilla's intendant, Stephanus, who was then under a prosecution for having defrauded his mistress in the management of her affairs. That excepted, he supposes the conspirators had no other motive than general fears, which did not affect any one of them in particular. I cannot but think Suetonius's authority * preferable to that of Dion Cassius.

They secure Nerva's consent, destining him to succeed Domitian. *Dec.*

They seem to have been in no hurry to carry their plot into execution. They took time to settle their plan, and were willing to secure a successor to the empire, before they killed Domitian. To this end, they sounded some of the chief senators, who declined the offer, being afraid to embark in so dangerous an enterprize, though they kept the secret faithfully. At last they applied to Nerva, a venerable

* Dion Cassius's account seems not at all probable. He tells us that Domitian intending to put to death his wife, and several officers of his household, set down their names in his pocket-book: that a child he used frequently to play with, stole that pocket-book from under his pillow whilst he was asleep: that Domitia, meeting the child, took it from him, read the names, and shewed them to all whom it concerned. This is palpably an anticipated recital of what afterwards befel the emperor Commodus: and as a farther proof that it is misplaced here, the historian allows a considerable interval of time, between the discovery of this fatal writing, and the death of Domitian. Now, one may readily imagine, that Domitian would not fail to take effectual measures to prevent the conspirators, the moment he perceived that his book was gone.

venerable old man, loaded with years and dignities, and at that time in exile at Tarentum, if we believe Philostratus; though the sequel would rather make us think that Nerva was then at Rome. Domitian, who could not see his merit without being jealous and uneasy, would have put him to death, had it not been for an astrologer, a friend to Nerva, who, to dissuade the emperor from that design, told him he had consulted the stars, and found that the life of the man who gave him uneasiness, would be but short. Nerva, who knew what he had to fear from Domitian, and who thought it would be a glorious deed to deliver Rome from such a tyrant, accepted the offer.

Domitian is upon his guard. Pretended predictions, by which he is said to have been forewarned of the impending danger. *Suet. Dom.* 14.

All that the conspirators had to do, was to concert the time and manner of their attack; and in that they were not a little embarrassed; for Domitian was extremely fearful and suspicious, and therefore was always upon his guard. His constant apprehension was, that he should die a violent death; and we are told, that nothing contributed so much to make him not insist on the strict observance of his order to pluck up all the vines in Italy, as a Greek distich that was handed about, alluding originally to the goat, but applied to Domitian, with some slight alteration. The vine is made to say*, "Though you cut me down to the very root, I shall "still bear grapes enough for the libations on Cæ-"sar's head, whenever he is sacrificed." The same spirit of fear, apprehension, and distrust, made Domitian refuse a signal honour offered him by the senate. It was proposed, that whenever the prince should be consul, and during the time of his consulship, a certain number of Roman knights, cloathed in the robes they wore upon extraordinary occasions, should march before him with pikes in their hands.

* Κἢν με φάγῃς επὶ ρίζαν, ὁμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω.
Ὅσσον επισπείσαι Καίσαρι θυομένῳ.

hands, among his lictors. Domitian's vanity was such, that he would have been glad of the intended honour; but his fears were too great to suffer him to trust himself in the midst of a troop of armed knights.

Suet. 14, & 15. & *Dio.* Both Suetonius and Dion Cassius would fain persuade us, that Domitian had not only forebodings, but even clear and positive forewarnings, of the death he was to die, and of the day and hour it was to happen. They alledge so many presages, predictions, and facts, as would astonish any one, were there the least foundation for them. I single out the most extraordinary.

An astrologer, called Ascletario, foretold precisely, say they, the day and manner in which Domitian was to die. His prophecy was talked of, he was taken up and brought before the prince, to whom he confessed the fact. Being asked what his own fate was to be, he answered, that he should soon be torn to pieces by hungry dogs. Domitian, to shew him how much he was mistaken, ordered him to be burnt, which was done immediately: but a heavy rain falling put out the fire, and a parcel of dogs finding the carcase half burnt, fell upon it and devoured it. The emperor was informed of it by a buffoon, who used to divert him with the news of the town, and told him this transaction, whilst he was at supper.

If what our authors say be strictly true, and they have not embellished the story with circumstances of their own invention, it must be owned, that the resemblance between the prediction and the event is surprisingly striking. But it is well known how apt men, who are credulous and fond of marvellous events, are to help out the letter of their text, often without perceiving it themselves; especially when they are talking of things so wonderful as this. Thus much, however, seems certain, that Domitian, who had a firm belief in astrologers, and all sorts of

of divination, had a perpetual terror upon his mind for some time before his death, and seemed every moment to apprehend some great danger very near him.

He took a farther precaution to guard against any unexpected attack. A stone was found, in Nero's time, in some quarries in Cappadocia, of a very extraordinary nature, hard as marble, and at the same time transparent, or rather luminous: for, according to Pliny the naturalist, Nero built a temple of this stone, into which one could see distinctly when all the doors were shut. Domitian, to turn this discovery to the best advantage he could, and prevent any one from coming behind him without being perceived, had all the walls of the portico's where he used to walk, cased with this stone, so suitable to his views. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* XXXVI. 22. *Suet.*

He had always been difficult of access, but from this time he shunned all company, and even the light of day, more than he had ever done before. All his precautions were however fruitless: nor could they be otherwise, whilst he neglected the most essential of all, to make himself agreeable and beloved. Within * those walls, says Pliny, by which he thought his life secured from danger, he shut up with him, treason, snares, and an avenging God. The punishment his crimes deserved drove his guards from their posts, forced his barriers, and penetrated through all his narrow close-shut passages, as easily as if no obstacle had been opposed.

The conspirators, all of whom were officers of his household, as I before said, after deliberating a long time, at last agreed on the day and minute, and

The conspirators kill him in his bed-chamber. *Suet.* 16, 17, & *Dio*

* Ille tamen, quibus sibi parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur, dolum, et insidias, et ultorem scelerum Deum inclusit. Dimovit perfregitque custodias pœna; angustosque per aditus et obstructos, non secus ac per apertas fores et invitantia limina, irrupit. *Plin. Pan.* 49.

and Stephanus, who was the most robust, undertook to give the first blow.

On the eighteenth of September, towards the fifth hour of the day, Domitian, who dreaded that moment, which he had been told would prove fatal to him, asked what time it was. Being told that it was noon, he seemed greatly pleased, thinking the danger over. He was preparing to bathe, when his chamberlain Parthenius acquainted him, that Domitilla's intendant, Stephanus, desired to speak to him about an affair of great importance which could admit of no delay. The emperor, commanding all to withdraw, stept into his bed-chamber, and ordered Stephanus to attend him there. Stephanus entered with his left-arm in a sling, which he had worn some days, as if he had received a hurt, but, in reality, the better to conceal a dagger, as he did. He told the emperor, that he came to inform him of a conspiracy against his life, and at the same time presented a memorial, in which, he said, the particulars were set forth at large. Whilst Domitian was reading it with terror and attention, Stephanus drew his dagger, and plunged it in his belly. The wound was not mortal; and Domitian immediately laid hold of Stephanus, threw him down, and called out for help, and for the sword that lay under his pillow. A child who was in the room, taking care of the household-gods, ran to the bed, but found only the hilt* of the sword. Parthenius had taken away the blade. All the doors were shut, so that none could come to the emperor's assistance, and those that were appointed to dispatch him, namely, a freed-man belonging to Parthenius, a gladiator, and two subaltern officers, were quite at liberty to fall upon Domitian, who was

* M. de Tillemont translates it *the scabbard*, and that seems most likely: but the word *capulus*, which Suetonius makes use of, will hardly bear that interpretation

was still struggling with Stephanus, and trying sometimes to wrench the dagger out of his hand, at other times to thrust his mangled fingers into his eyes. Domitian received seven stabs, of which he died. Some officers of his guard, hearing the bustle, came, but too late to save his life, though they killed Stephanus.

Apollonius Tyanæus is said to have known the murder the instant it was committed tho' he was then at Ephesus.

A very remarkable circumstance, if it be true, is, that Apollonius Tyanæus, though he was then at Ephesus, knew of Domitian's death the very instant he was killed. Philostrates says, that Apollonius was in a garden about noon, attended by all the people of Ephesus, who were come to hear him. On a sudden, he stopt short, as if amazed and terrified, his voice faultered, his looks were wild and ghastly, as if he had seen something shocking, and he was quite silent for a few moments: after which, looking stedfastly on the ground, and advancing three or four steps, he cried out, "Strike the tyrant, strike." Every one present was amazed. "Take courage, friends, said "Apollonius to them, this day the tyrant was "killed. This day, do I say? It was this instant; "by Minerva, this very instant: whilst I was si- "lent, he received the just reward of all his "crimes." The Ephesians concluded him mad to talk at that rate; but in a few days news was brought from Rome, that Domitian was really dead, and that he was killed at that very time. *Phil. Apoll.* VIII. 16. & *Dio.*

Philostrates asserts this positively, as a fact; and Dion Cassius will not allow any one to doubt it. We can have no interest to deny it, since it does not at all exceed the power of the dæmons, with whom Apollonius held a magic commerce. I shall only observe, that Philostrates and Dion Cassius are two such credulous writers, that their testimony can be of little weight to counter-balance so great an absurdity as this, if it be called a miracle.

Domitian's age. His furtive funeral. *Dio & Suet. Dion.* l. & 17.

Domitian was forty-four years ten months and twenty-six days old when he was killed: consequently he was born the twenty-fourth of October, in the year of Rome 802. He reigned fifteen years and five days. No honours were paid him after his death: so far from it, that both the senate and people would have treated his dead body with ignominy, if it had not been conveyed away privately. His nurse, whose name was Phyllis, undertook to see his funeral performed in a place she had in the country, near the Latin way; and afterwards carried his ashes privately to the temple of the Flavian family, where she mixed them with those of Titus's daughter Julia, whom she had likewise taken care of in her infancy.

Some account of his person. *Suet.* 13.

Domitian was tall and well proportioned: his looks were modest, and he blushed easily. He prided himself upon this last quality, saying one day to the senate; "Hitherto * you have approved "of my sentiments, and of the modesty of my "looks." But his inside was greatly the reverse of that seeming modesty. The † habitual redness of his face, says Tacitus, was a preservative against shame, which had no way left to shew itself in him.

He grew bald betimes; at which he was so mortified, that if another was at any time upbraided with that defect, either seriously or in jest, in his hearing, he was highly offended at it. It is for *Sat.* IV. this reason that Juvenal calls him, out of spight and derision, *the bald Nero.* Domitian, however, comforts himself, and a friend of his who was likewise bald, with a good grace enough, upon their mutual misfortune, in a treatise written by him, and inscribed to that friend, *On the care required in the*

* Usque adhuc certe animum meum probastis & vultum. *Suet.*

† Sævus ille vultus; & rubor a quo se contra pudorem muniebat. *Tac. Agr.* 45.

the management of the hair of the head. "Do * you "not see, says he, applying to himself the words "of Achilles in Homer, what advantages I have in "respect of shape and figure? yet my hair suffers "the same fate as your's, and I bear with patience "the disagreeable necessity of seeing that grow old, "whilst I myself am young. It is a lesson by which "we learn, that nothing is more pleasing, nor at "the same time less durable, than the embellish-"ment of our persons."

His disposition with respect to literature. *Suet.* 20.

By this specimen, which wants neither taste nor elegance of expression, we find that Domitian could have written and spoken well, had he been willing to give himself that trouble. He affected in his youth, as I have often said before, a taste for poetry: but it was an affectation only. When emperor, he shewed great indifference for the liberal arts. Contrary to the custom of the first Cæsars, which his father and brother doubtless followed, he made use of the pen of another, to write his letters, ordinances, and speeches. He read neither poetry nor history, nor any thing but Tiberius's memoirs, in which he studied the maxims of tyranny. The only thing in which he shewed the least regard for literature, was his repairing the libraries which had been burnt or damaged by the late frequent fires at Rome. He collected from all parts, copies of books which had been destroyed, and sent proper persons to Alexandria to transcribe others, and correct those he had. Domitian was one of those who love to have books by way of ornament, but who never trouble themselves to read them.

He was an excellent marksman

He was so indolent and slothful, that he neglected even his bodily exercises; except shooting with the

* Ὀυχ ὁράας οἷος κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε;
Iliad XXI. ver. 108.

Eadem me tamen manent capillorum fata, et forti animo fero comam in adolescentia senescentem. Scias nec gratius quidquam decore, nec brevius. *Suet.*

with the bow and arrow. *Suet.* 19.

the bow and arrow, at which he was very dexterous. A poor merit in an emperor.

Domitian, as we have seen, had scarce any one of the good qualities requisite in a sovereign, but all the vices of a tyrant. Some have drawn a parallel between him and Nero; but, as M. de Tillemont observes, a juster comparison may be made of him with Tiberius, whose gloomy sullenness of temper, premeditated wickedness of heart, cruelty and dissimulation, he possessed in a high degree.

He may be compared to Tiberius,

The senate detests his memory: the people remain indifferent; and the soldiers regret him. *Suet.* 23.

The senate, who detested and dreaded him whilst living, was glad of his death. The moment it was known, the senators ran in crowds to their place of assembly, and expressed their abhorrence of his memory with the most bitter invectives. They were for having his body dragged with ignominy to the *Gemoniæ;* ordered all the pictures, busts, statues, and other representations of him to be pulled down; his name to be struck out of the Roman annals, and all public monuments; from several of which, still remaining, we find that the senate's decree was put in execution. The people, who were not the object of Domitian's violences and cruelties, and who, on the other hand, had no reason to love him, were indifferent about his death. The soldiers, whose affection he had strove to gain by his liberalities and complaisance to them, regretted him extremely. Had it been in their power, they would have ranked him among the gods, and have punished immediately those who killed him. We shall see how they behaved, and what ensued, in the life of his successor Nerva.

Noris, Ep. Cons.

THE END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

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